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Mr. *LILLY's*
HISTORY
OF HIS
LIFE and TIMES:

Written by Himself.

Published from the Original Manuscript, repositied in the *Ashmolean Museum* at Oxford.

Edw. Mangin

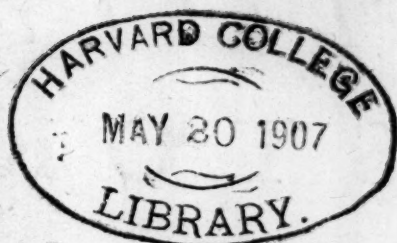
To which is Subjoined,
The True History of King *James I.* and
King *Charles I.* by Mr. *LILLY.*

L O N D O N,

Printed for E. CURLL, over-against Catherine-street
in the Strand; J. PEMBERTON, in Fleet-street;
and W. TAYLOR, in Pater-noster-Row. 1721.

Price 3s.

1721
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Samuel

Mr. William Lilly's HISTORY

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HIS LIFE and TIMES,
From the Year 1602, to 1681.

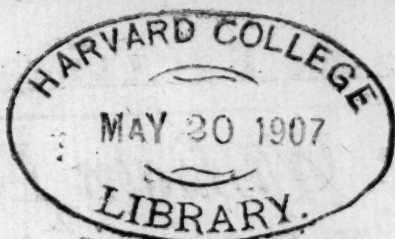
Written by himself in the 66th Year of
his Age, to his worthy Friend *ELIAS*
ASHMOLE, Esq;

Containing, among many curious Particulars,

- I. An Account of *Dr. Forman*, *Dr. Napier*, *Dr. Booker*, *Dr. Dee*, *Kelly*, and all other Astrologers and Conjurors; his Gotemporaries, unfolding the Mysteries of the Black Art, viz. Incantations, Raising of Spirits, &c.
- II. The TRYAL of *Isaac Antrobus*, Parson of *Egremond*, before *Sir Harbottle Grimston*, Master of the Rolls, for Baptizing a Cock by the Name of *Peter*, and committing Adultery with a Woman and her Daughter.
- III. A Discovery of several private Transactions relating to *Oliver Cromwell's* Management, during the Time of the *Civil Wars*; more especially that Grand Secret, *who the Person was that cut off King CHARLES's Head*.
- IV. Mr. Lilly's Examination before the Parliament concerning the *Fire of London*: With some memorable Occurrences that happened after the Restauration of *King Charles II.*

The Second Edition.

LONDON: Printed for *J. Roberts* in *Warwick-Lane.* 1715.
Price 1 s. 6 d. Stitch. 2 s. Bound.



Duplicate money:

To the EXCELLENT
Elias Ashmole, Esq;

THIS
ACCOUNT
OF MY
LIFE,

With all Humility, is
DEDICATED,

BY

WILLIAM LILLY.



ADVERTISEMENT,

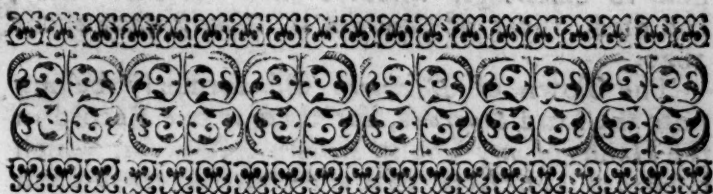
By the PUBLISHER.

THE following Sheets were printed
from the Original Manuscript in
Mr. *Lilly's* own Hand-writing.

The Notes at the Bottom of the Pages,
and the Continuation to the Time of his
Death, were the Performance of his good
Friend Mr. *Ashmole*.



THE



THE
L I F E
O F
W I L L I A M L I L L Y ,
Student in Astrology.

Wrote by himself in the 66th Year of his
Age, at *Hersham* in the Parish of *Walton*
upon *Thames* in the County of *Surrey*.

Propria Manus.



Was born in the County of *Leicester*,
in an obscure Town, in the *North-*
West Borders thereof call'd *Diseworth*,
seven Miles South of the Town of
Derby, one Mile from *Castle-Donning-*
ton, a Town of great Rudeness, where-
in it is not remembred that any of the Farmers
thereof did ever educate any of their Sons to
Learning, only my Grandfather sent his younger
Son

Son to Cambridge, whose Name was Robert Lilly, and died, Vicar of Cambden in Gloucestershire about 1640.

The Town of *Diseworth* did formerly belong unto the Lord *Seagrave*, for there is one Record in the Hands of my Cousin *Melborn Williamsen*, which mentions one Acre of Land abutting North upon the Gates of the Lord *Seagrave*; and there is one Close, called *Hall-Close*, wherein the Ruins of some ancient Buildings appear, and particularly where the Dove-house stood; and there is also the Ruins of decay'd Fish-ponds, and other Out-houses. This Town came at length to be the Inheritance of *Margaret* Countess of *Richmond*, Mother of *Henry VII.* Which *Margaret* gave this Town and Lordship of *Diseworth* unto *Christ's College* in *Cambridge*, the Master and Fellows whereof have ever since, and at present, enjoy and possess it.

In the Church of this Town there is but one Monument, and that is a white Marble Stone, now almost broken to Pieces, which was placed there by *Robert Lilly*, my Grandfather, in Memory of *Jane* his Wife, the Daughter of *Mr. Poole* of *Dalby* in the same County, a Family now quite extinguish'd. My Grandmother's Brother was *Mr. Henry Poole*, one of the Knights of *Rhodes*, or *Templars*, who being a Soldier in *Rhodes* at the taking thereof by *Solyman* the Magnificent, and escaping with his Life came afterwards to *England*, and married the Lady *Parron* or *Perham* of *Oxfordshire*, and was called, during his Life, *Sir Henry Poole*. *William Poole* the Astrologer knew him very well, and remembers him to have been a very tall Person, and reputed of great Strength in his younger Years.

The Impropriation of this Town of *Diseworth* was formerly the Inheritance of three Sisters, whereof two became Votaries; one in the Nunnery of *Langly* in the Parish of *Diseworth*, valued

at

at the Suppression, I mean the whole Nunnery at 32 Pounds *per Annum*, and this Sister's Part is yet enjoyed by the Family of the *Graves*, who now, and for some Years past, have the Enjoyment and Possession of all the Lands formerly belonging to the Nunnery in the Parish of *Diseworth*, and are at present of the yearly Value of 350 Pounds *per Annum*. One of the Sisters gave her Part of the great Tythes unto a Religious House in *Bredon* upon the Hill; and as the Inhabitants report, became a religious Person afterwards.

The third Sister married, and her Part of the Tythes in succeeding Ages became the Earl of *Huntingdon's*, who not many Years since sold it to one of his Servants.

The Donation of the Vicaridge is in the Gift of the *Graves* of *Langly*, unto whom they pay yearly, I mean unto the Vicar, as I am inform'd, six Pounds *per Annum*. Very lately some charitable Citizens have purchased one Third Portion of the Tythes, and given it for a Maintenance of a preaching Minister, and it is now of the Value of about 50 Pounds *per Annum*.

There have been two Hermitages in this Parish; the last Hermit was well remembered by one *Thomas Cooke*, a very ancient Inhabitant, who in my younger Years acquainted me therewith.

This Town of *Diseworth* is divided into three Parishes; one Part belongs unto *Lockington*, in which Part standeth my Father's House over-against the West-end of the Steeple, in which I was born: Some other Farms are in the Parish of *Bredon*, the rest in the Parish of *Diseworth*.

In this Town, but in the Parish of *Lockington*, was I born, the first Day of May, 1602.

My Father's Name was *William Lilly*, Son of *Robert*, the Son of *Robert*, the Son of *Rowland*, &c. My Mother was *Alice* the Daughter of *Edward*

Barham of *Fiskerton-Mills* in *Nottinghamshire*, two Miles from *Newark* upon *Trent* : This *Edward Barham* was born in *Normich*, and well remembered the Rebellion of *Kett the Tanner* in the Days of *Edward VI.*

Our Family have continued many Ages in this Town as Yeomen ; besides the Farm my Father and his Ancestors lived in, both my Father and Grandfather had much free Land, and many Houses in the Town, not belonging to the College, as the Farm wherein they were all born doth, and is now at this present of the Value of 40 Pounds *per Annum*, and in Possession of my Brother's Son ; but the Free-hold Land and Houses, formerly purchased by my Ancestors, were all sold by my Grandfather and Father ; so that now our Family depend wholly upon a College Lease. Of my Infancy I can speak little, only I do remember, that in the fourth Year of my Age I had the Measles.

I was, during my Minority, put to learn at such Schools, and of such Masters, as the Rudeness of the Place and Country afforded ; my Mother intending I should be a Scholar from my Infancy, seeing my Father's Backslidings in the World, and no Hopes by plain Husbandry to recruit a decay'd Estate ; therefore upon *Trinity Tuesday 1613*, my Father had me to *Ashby de la Zouch*, to be instructed by one Mr. *John Brinsley* ; one, in those Times, of great Abilities for Instruction of Youth in the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues ; he was very severe in his Life and Conversation, and did breed up many Scholars for the Universities : In Religion he was a strict Puritan, not conformable wholly to the Ceremonies of the Church of *England*. In this Town of *Ashby de la Zouch* for many Years together, Mr. *Arthur Hildersham* exercised his Ministry at my being there ; and all the while I continued at *Ashby*, he was silenced.
This

This is that famous *Hilderſham*, who left behind him a Commentary on the 51ſt *Pſalm* ; as alſo many Sermons upon the 4th of *John*, both which are printed : He was an excellent Textuary of exemplary Life, pleaſant in Diſcourſe, a ſtrong Enemy to the *Browniſts*, and diſſented not from the Church of *England* in any Article of Faith, but only about wearing the Surplice, baptizing with the Croſs, and kneeling at the Sacrament ; moſt of the People of the Town were directed by his Judgment, and ſo continued, and yet do continue Presbyterianly affected ; for when the Lord of *Loughborough* in 1642, 1643, 1644, and 1645, had his Garriſon in that Town, if by chance at any time any Troops of Horſe had lodged within the Town, though they came late at Night to their Quarters ; yet would one or other of the Town preſently give Sir *John Gell* of *Derby* notice, ſo that 'ere next Morning moſt of his Maſteſty's Troops were ſeized in their Lodgings, which moved the Lord of *Loughborough* merrily to ſay, there was not a Fart let in *Aſhby* but it was preſently carried to *Derby*.

The ſeveral Authors I there learned were theſe, viz. *Sententia Pueriles*, *Cato*, *Corderius*, *Æſop's Fables*, *Tully's Offices*, *Ovid de Triſtibus* ; laſtly, *Virgil*, then *Horace* ; as alſo *Camden's Greek Grammar*, *Theognis* and *Homer's Iliads* : I was only entred into *Udall's Hebrew Grammar* ; he never taught *Logick*, but often would ſay it was fit to be learned in the Univerſities.

In the 14th Year of my Age, by a fellow Scholar of ſwarth, black Complexion, I had like to have my right Eye beaten out as we were at play ; the ſame Year, about *Michaelmas*, I got a Surfeit, and thereupon a Fever, by eating *Beech-Nurs*.

In the 16th Year of my Age I was exceedingly troubled in my Dreams concerning my Salvation and Damnation, and also concerning the Safety and Destruction of the Souls of my Father and Mother ; in the Nights I frequently wept, prayed and mourned, for fear my Sins might offend God.

In the 17th Year of my Age my Mother died.

In the 18th Year of my Age my Master *Brinsley* was enforced from keeping School, being persecuted by the Bishop's Officers, he came to *London*, and then lectured in *London*, where he afterwards died. In this Year, by reason of my Father's Poverty, I was also enforced to leave School, and so came to my Father's House, where I lived in much Penury for one Year, and taught School one Quarter of a Year, until God's Providence provided better for me.

For the two last Years of my being at School, I was of the highest Form in the School, and chiefest of that Form ; I could then speak *Latin* as well as *English* ; could make *Extempore* Verses upon any Theme ; all Kinds of Verses, Hexameter, Pentameter, Phaleuciacks, Iambicks, Sapphicks, &c. so that if any Scholars from remote Schools came to dispute, I was Ringleader to dispute with them ; I could cap Verses, &c. If any Minister came to examine us, I was brought forth against him, nor would I argue with him unless in the *Latin* Tongue, which I found few of them could well speak without breaking *Priscian's* Head ; which if once they did, I would complain to my Master, *Non bene intelligit Linguam Latinam, nec prorsus loquitur*. In the Derivation of Words I found most of them defective, nor indeed were any of them good Grammarians : all and every of those Scholars who were of my Form and standing, went to *Cambridge* and proved excellent Divines, only poor I, *William Lilly*, was
not

not so happy; Fortune then frowning upon my Father's present Condition, he not in any Capacity to maintain me at the University.

Of the Manner how I came unto London.

Worthy Sir, I take much delight to recount unto you, even all and every Circumstance of my Life, whether good, moderate, or evil; *Deo Gloria.*

My Father had one *Samuel Smatty* for his Attorney, unto whom I went sundry times with Letters, who perceiving I was a Scholar, and that I lived miserably in the Country, losing my time, nor any ways likely to do better, if I continued there; pitying my Condition, he sent Word for me to come and speak with him, and told me that he had lately been at *London*, where there was a Gentleman wanted a Youth, to attend him and his Wife, who could write, &c.

I acquainted my Father with it, who was very willing to be rid of me, for I could not work, drive the Plough, or endure any Country Labour; my Father oft wou'd say, I was good for nothing.

I had only 20 Shillings, and no more, to buy me a new Suit, Hose, Doublet, &c. my Doublet was Fustian: I repair'd to Mr. *Smatty*, when I was accoutred, for a Letter to my Master, which he gave me.

Upon *Monday, April 3. 1620*, I departed from *Diseworth*, and came to *Leicester*; but I must acquaint you, that before I came away I visited my Friends, amongst whom I had given me about ten Shillings, which was a great Comfort unto me. On *Tuesday, April the 4th*, I took leave of my Father, then in *Leicester* Goal for Debt, and came along with *Bradshaw* the Carrier, the same Person with whom many of the Duke of *Buckingham's* Kindred had come up with. Hark how the Waggon

crack with their rich Lading! It was a very stormy Week, cold and uncomfortable: I footed it all along; we could not reach *London* until *Palm-Sunday*, the 9th of *April*, about half an Hour after Three in the Afternoon, at which time we entred *Smithfield*. When I had gratified the Carrier and his Servants, I had 7s. 6d. left, and no more; one Suit of Cloaths upon my Back, two Shirts, three Bands, one pair of Shoes, and as many Stockings. Upon the Delivery of my Letter my Master entertain'd me, and next Day bought me a new Cloak, of which you may imagine (good Esquire) whether I was not proud of; besides, I saw and eat good white Bread, contrary to our Diet in *Leicestershire*. My Master's Name was *Gilbert Wright*, born at *Market Bosworth* in *Leicestershire*; my Mistress was born at *Ashby de la Zouch*, in the same County, and in the Town where I had gone to School. This *Gilbert Wright* could neither write nor read; he lived upon his Annual Rents, was of no Calling or Profession; he had for many Years been Servant to the Lady *Pawlet* in *Hertfordshire*; and when *Serjeant Puckering* was made Lord Keeper, he made him Keeper of his Lodgings at *White-hall*. When *Sir Thomas Egerton* was made Lord Chancellor, he entertained him in the same Place; and when he married a Widdow in *Newgate-Market*, the Lord Chancellor recommended him to the Company of *Salterns*, *London*, to admit him into their Company, and so they did, and my Master in 1624, was Master of that Company; he was a Man of excellent natural Parts, and would speak publickly upon any Occasion very rationally and to the Purpose. I write this, that the World may know he was no Taylor, or my self of that or any other Calling or Profession: My Work was to go before my Master to Church; to attend my Master when he went abroad; to make clean his Shoes; sweep the
Street;

Street ; help to drive Bucks when we washed ; fetch Water in a Tub from the *Thames* : I have helped to carry Eighteen Tubs of Water in one Morning, weed the Garden ; all manner of Drudgeries I willingly performed ; scrape Trenchers, &c. If I had any Profession, it was of this Nature : I should never have denied my being a Taylor, had I been one ; for there is no Calling so base, which by God's Mercy may not afford a Livelihood ; and had not my Master entertain'd me, I would have been of a very mean Profession 'ere I would have returned into the Country again ; so here ends the Actions of eighteen Years of my Life.

My Master married his second Wife for her Estate ; she was competently rich ; she married him for Considerations he performed not. (*nocturnal Society*) so that they lived very uncomfortably ; she was about 70 Years of Age, he 66 or more ; yet never was any Woman more jealous of a Husband than she ; infomuch that whensoever he went into *London*, she was confident of his going to Women ; by those Means my Life was the more uncomfortable, it being very difficult to please two such opposite Natures : However, as to the Things of this World I had enough, and endured their Discontents with much Sereneness. My Mistress was very curious to know of such as were then called Cunning or Wise Men, whether she should bury her Husband ? She frequently visited such Persons, and this Occasion begot in me a little Desire to learn something that way, but wanting Money to buy Books, I laid aside these Motions and endeavoured to please both Master and Mistress.

*Of my Mistress's Death, and Occasion thereof by Means
of a Cancer in her Breast.*

In 1622 she complain'd of a Pain in her left Breast, whereon there appeared at first a hard Knob no bigger than a small Peason; it encreased in a little time very much, was very hard, and sometimes would look very Red; she took Advice of Surgeons, had Oils, Sear-cloaths, Plates of Lead, and what not: In 1623 it grew very big, and spread all over her Breast; then for many Weeks Pultises were apply'd to it, which in continuance of time broke the Skin, and then abundance of watery thin Stuff came from it, but nothing else; at length the Matter came to Suppuration, but never any great Store issued forth; it was exceeding noisom and painful; from the beginning of it until she died, she would permit no Surgeon to dress it but only my self; I applied every thing unto it, and her Pains were so great the Winter before she died, that I have been called out of my Bed two or three Times in one Night to dress it and change Plaisters. In 1624 by degrees with Sizzers I cut all the whole Breast away, I mean the Sinews, Nerves, &c. In one Fortnight, or little more, it appeared, as it were, mere Flesh, all raw, so that she could scarce endure any Unguent to be applied. I remember there was a great Cleft through the Middle of the Breast, which when that fully appeared she died, which was in *September* 1624; my Master being then in the Country, his Kindred in *London* would willingly have had Mourning for her; but by Advice of an especial Friend of his I contradicted them; nor would I permit them to look into any Chest or Trunk in the House: She was decently buried, and so fond of me in the Time of her Sickness, she would never permit me out of her Chamber, gave me five Pounds in old Gold, and sent

sent me unto a private Trunk of hers at a Friends House, where she had One hundred Pounds in Gold ; she bad me bring it away and take it, but when I opened the Trunk I found nothing therein ; for a Kinsman of hers had been there a few Days before and carried all away : She was in a great Passion at my relating thereof, because she could not gratify my Pains in all her Sickness, advised me to help my self when she was gone, out of my Masters Goods, which I never did.

Courteous Esquire, be not weary of reading hereof, or of what followeth.

When my Mistress died, she had under her Arm-hole a small scarlet Bag full of many Things, which, one that was there delivered unto me. There was in this Bag several Sigils, some of *Jupiter* in Trine, others of the Nature of *Venus*, some of Iron, and one of Gold, of pure Angel-gold, of the Bigness of a 33 s. Piece of King *James's* Coin. In the Circumference on one Side was engraven, *Vicit Leo de tribu Juda Tetragrammaton* +, within the Middle there was engraven an holy Lamb. In the other Circumference there was *Amraphel* and 3 +. In the Middle, *Sanctus Petrus, Alpha* and *Omega*.

The Occasion of framing this Sigil was thus ; her former Husband travelling into *Sussex*, happened to lodge in an Inn, and to lie in a Chamber thereof ; wherein, not many Months before a Country Grasier had lain, and in the Night cut his own Throat ; after this Night's Lodging he was perpetually, and for many Years, followed by a Spirit, which vocally and articulately provoked him to cut his Throat ; he was used frequently to say, *I desie thee, I desie thee*, and to spit at the Spirit ; this Spirit followed him many Years, he not making any Body acquainted with it ; at last he grew melancholly and discontented ; which being carefully observed by his Wfie, she many Times hearing him pronounce, *I desie thee, &c.* she desired him to
acquaint

acquaint her with the Cause of his Distemper, which he then did. Away she went to Dr. *Simon Forman*, who lived then in *Lambeth*, and acquaints him with it; who having framed this *Sigil*, and hanged it about his Neck, he wearing it continually until he died was never more molested by the Spirit: I sold the *Sigil* for 32 Shillings, but transcribed the Words *verbatim* as I have related. Sir, you shall now have a Story of this *Simon Forman*, as his Widow, whom I well knew, related it unto me. But before I relate his Death, I shall acquaint you something of the Man, as I have gathered them from some Manuscripts of his own Writing.

Of Dr. *Simon Forman*

He was a Chandler's Son in the City of *Westminster*. He travelled into *Holland* for a *Monte* in 1580, purposely to be instructed in *Astrology*, and other more occult Sciences; as also in *Physick*, taking his Degree of Doctor beyond Seas: Being sufficiently furnished and instructed with what he desired, he returned into *England* towards the latter End of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, and flourished until that Year of King *James*, wherein the Countess of *Effix*, the Earl of *Somerset*, and Sir *Thomas Overbury*'s Matters were questioned. He lived in *Lambeth* with a very good Report of the Neighbourhood, especially of the Poor, unto whom he was charitable. He was a Person that in *Horary Questions* (especially *Thefts*) was very judicious and fortunate; so also in *Sicknesses*, which indeed was his Master-piece. In resolving Questions about *Marriage* he had good Success: in other Questions very moderate. He was a Person of indefatigable Pains. I have seen sometimes half one Sheet of Paper wrote of his Judgment upon one Question; in writing whereof he used much

much Tautology, as you may see your self (most excellent Esquire) if you read a great Book of Dr. *Floods*, which you have, who had all that Book from the Manuscripts of *Forman*; for I have seen the same Word for Word in an *English* Manuscript formerly belonging to Doctor *Willoughby* of *Gloucestershire*. Had *Forman* lived to have methodized his own Papers, I doubt not but he would have advanced the *Jathromathematical* Part thereof very compleatly; for he was very observant, and kept Notes of the Success of his Judgments, as in many of his Figures I have observed. I very well remember to have read in one of his Manuscripts, what followeth.

Being in Bed one Morning (says he) I was desirous to know whether I should ever be a Lord, Earl or Knight, &c. whereupon I set a Figure; and thereupon my Judgment; by which he concluded, that within two Years Time he should be a Lord or Great Man: But, says he, before the two Years were expired, the Doctors put me in *Newgate*, and nothing came. Not long after, he was desirous to know the same Things concerning his Honour or Greatship. Another Figure was set, and that promised him to be a great Lord within one Year. But he sets down, that in that Year, he had no Preferment at all; only I became acquainted with a Merchant's Wife, by whom I got well. There is another Figure concerning one Sir———*Ayre* his going into *Turkey*, whether it would be a good Voyage or not: The Doctor repeats all his Astrological Reasons, and musters them together, and then gave his Judgment it would be a fortunate Voyage. But under this Figure, he concludes, this proved not so, for he was taken Prisoner by Pirates ere he arrived in *Turkey*, and lost all. He set several Questions to know if he should attain the Philosophers Stone, and the Figures, according to his straining, did seem to signify

signify as much ; and then he tugs upon the Aspects and Configurations, and elected a fit Time to begin his Operation ; but by and by, in Conclusion, he adds, so the Work went very forward ; but upon the ☐ of ☿ the Setting-glass broke, and I lost all my Pains : He sets down five or six such Judgments, but still complains all came to nothing, upon the malignant Aspects of ♄ and ☿. Altho' some of his Astrological-Judgments did fail, more particularly those concerning himself, he being no way capable of such Preferment as he ambitiously desired : Yet I shall repeat some other of his Judgments, which did not fail, being performed by Conference with Spirits. My Mistress went once unto him, to know when her Husband, then in *Cumberland*, would return, he having promised to be at Home near the Time of the Question ; after some Consideration, he told her to this Effect : *Margery*, for so her Name was, thy Husband will not be at Home these Eighteen Days ; his Kindred have vexed him, and he is come away from them in much Anger ; he is now in *Carlisle*, and hath but Three Pence in his Purse. And when he came Home he confess'd all to be true, and that upon leaving his Kindred he had but Three Pence in his Purse. I shall relate one Story more, and then his Death.

One *Coleman*, Clerk to Sir *Thomas Beaumont* of *Leicestershire*, having had some liberal Favours both from his Lady and her Daughters, bragged of it, &c. The Knight brought him into the Star-Chamber, had his Servant sentenced to be Pillory'd, Whipped, and afterwards, during Life, to be Imprisoned. The Sentence was executed in *London*, and was to be in *Leicestershire* : Two Keepers were to convey *Coleman* from the *Fleet* to *Leicester*. My Mistress taking Consideration of *Coleman*, and the Miseries he was to suffer, went presently to *Forman*, acquainting him therewith ; who, after Consideration, swore

Cole-

Coleman had lain both with Mother and Daughters ; and besides said, that the old Lady being afflicted with Fits of the Mother, call'd him into her Chamber to hold down the Fits with his Hands ; and that he holding his Hands about the Breast, she cried *lower, lower*, and put his Hands below her Belly ; and then ——— He also told my Mistress in what Posture he lay with the young Ladies, &c. and said, They intend in *Leicester* to whip him to death ; but I assure thee, *Margery*, he shall never come there ; yet they set forward to Morrow, says he ; and so his two Keepers did, *Coleman's* Legs being locked with an Iron-Chain under the Horse's Belly. In this Nature they travelled the first and second Day ; on the third Day the two Keepers seeing their Prisoner's Civility the two preceding Days, did not lock his Chain under the Horse's Belly, as formerly, but locked it only to one Side. In this Posture they rode some Miles beyond *Nor-thampton*, when, on a sudden, one of the Keepers had a Necessity to untruss, and so the other and *Coleman* stood still ; by and by the other Keeper desired *Coleman* to hold his Horse, for he had Occasion also : *Coleman* immediately took one of their Swords, and ran through two of the Horses, killing them stark dead ; gets upon the other, with one of their Swords ; Farewell Gentlemen, quoth he, tell my Master I have no mind to be whipped in *Leicestershire*, and so went his way. The two Keepers in all haste went to a Gentleman's House near at Hand, complaining of their Misfortune, and desired of him to pursue their Prisoner, which he with much Civility granted ; but ere the Horses could be got ready, the Mistress of the House came down, and enquiring what the Matter was, went to the Stable, and commanded the Horses to be unsaddled, with this sharp Speech—Let the Lady *Beaumont* and her Daughters live honestly, none of my Horses shall go forth upon this Occasion.

I could

I could relate many such Stories of his Performances; as also what he wrote in a Book left behind him, *viz.* This I made the Devil write with his own Hand in *Lambeth-Fields* 1596, in *June* or *July*, as I now remember. He professed to his Wife there would be much Trouble about *Carr* and the Countess of *Essex*, who frequently resorted unto him, and from whose Company he would sometimes lock himself in his Study a whole Day. Now we come to his Death, which happened as follows; the *Sunday* Night before he died, his Wife and he being at Supper in their Garden-house, she being pleasant, told him, that she had been informed he could resolve, whether Man or Wife should die first; whether shall I (quoth she) bury you or no? Oh *Trunco*, for so he called her, thou wilt bury me, but thou wilt much repent it; yea, but how long first, I shall die, said he, ere *Thursday* Night. *Munday* came, all was well. *Tuesday* came, he not sick. *Wednesday* came and still he was well; with which his impertinent Wife did much twit him in the Teeth. *Thursday* came, and Dinner was ended, he very well, he went down to the Water-side, and took a pair of Oars to go to some Buildings he was in hand with in *Puddledock*; being in the middle of the *Thames* he presently fell down, only saying, *an Imposst*, *an Imposst*, and so died. A most sad Storm of Wind immediately following. He died worth 1200 pounds, and left only one Son called *Clement*. All his Rarities, secret Manuscripts, of what quality soever, *Dr. Napper* of *Lindford* in *Buckinghamshire* had, who had been a long time his Scholar; and of whom *Forman* was used to say he would be a *Dunce*: Yet in continuance of Time he proved a singular Astrologer and Physician. *Sir Richard* now living I believe has all those Rarities in possession, which were *Formans*, being Kinsman and Heir unto *Dr. Napper*. [His Son *Thomas Napper Esq*; most generously gave most of these MSS. to *Elias Ashmole*

mole Esq;] I hope you will pardon this Digression.

After my Mistress was dead I lived most comfortably, my Master having a great Affection for me.

The Year 1625 now comes on, and the Plague exceeding violent, I will relate what I observed the Spring before it broke forth; against our corner House every Night there would come down about five or six of the Clock, sometime One hundred or more Boys, some playing, others as if in serious Discourse, and just as it grew dark would all be gone home; many succeeding Years there was no such, or any Concourse usually, no more than four or five in a Company: In the Spring of 1625, the Boys and Youths of several Parishes in like Number appeared again, which I beholding, called *Thomas Sanders*, my Landlord, and told him, that the Youth and young Boys of several Parishes did in that Nature assemble and play, in the beginning of the Year 1625. God blefs us, quoth I, from a Plague this Year; but then there succeeded one, and the greatest that ever was in *London*. In 1625, the Visitation encreasing, and my Master having a great Charge of Money and Plare, some of his own, some other Men's, left me and a Fellow-Servant to keep the House, and himself in June went into *Leicestershire*. He was in that Year Feoffee Collector for twelve poor Alms-people living in *Clement-Danes* Church-yard; whose Pensions I in his Absence paid weekly, to his and the Parish's great Satisfaction. My Master was no sooner gone down, but I bought a Base-viol, and got a Master to instruct me; the Intervals of Time I spent in Bowling in *Lincoln's-Inn Fields*, with *Wat* the Cbler, *Dick* the Blacksmith, and such like Companions: We have sometimes been at our Work at six in the Morning, and so continued till three or four in the Afternoon, many times without

out Bread or Drink all that while. Sometimes I went to Church and heard Funeral-Sermons, of which there was then great Plenty. At other Times I went early to St. *Antholine's* in *London*, where there was every Morning a Sermon. The most able People of the whole City and Suburbs were out of Town; if any remained, it were such as were engaged by Parish-Offices to remain; no Habit of a Gentleman or Woman continued; the woful Calamity of that Year was grievous, People dying in the open Fields and in the open Streets. At last, in *August*, the Bills of Mortality so increased, that very few People had Thoughts of surviving the Contagion: The *Sunday* before the great Bill came forth, which was of 5000 and odd Hundreds, there was appointed a Sacrament at *Clement Dane's*; during the distributing whereof I do well remember we sang thirteen Parts of the One hundred and nineteenth Psalm. One *Jacob*, our Minister (for we had three that Day, the Communion was so great) fell sick as he was giving the Sacrament, went home, and was bury'd of the Plague the *Thursday* following. Mr. *James*, another of the Ministers, fell sick 'ere he had quite finished, had the Plague, and was thirteen Weeks 'ere he recovered. Mr. *Whitacre*, the last of the three, escaped not only then, but all the Contagion following, without any Sicknefs at all; though he officiated at every Funeral, and bury'd all manner of People, whether they died of the Plague or not. He was given to drink, seldom could preach more than one quarter of an Hour at a time, &c. In *November* my Master came home. My Fellow-Servant's and my Diet came weekly to Six Shillings and Six Pence, sometimes to Seven Shillings, so cheap was Diet at that Time.

In *February* of that Year, my Master marry'd again (one who after his Death became my Wife.) In the same Year he settled upon me, during my
Life,

Life, 20 Pounds *per Annum*, which I have enjoyed ever since, even to the writing hereof.

May 22, 1627, my Master dy'd at the Corner Houſe in the *Strand*, where I alſo lived ſo long. He died inteſtate; my Miſtreſs reliquiſhing the Adminiſtration, it came to his elder Brother, who aſſigned the Eſtate over to me for Payment of my Maſter's Debts; which being paid, I faithfully returned the remaining Part unto his Adminiſtrator; nor had one Penny of the Eſtate more than 20 Pounds *per Annum*, which was allowed me by Contract, to undertake the Payment of my Maſter's Debts.

Of my Marriage the firſt Time.

My Miſtreſs had been twice marry'd to old Men, was now reſolved to be couzened no more; ſhe was of a brown ruddy Complexion, corpulent, of but mean Stature, plain, no Education, yet a very provident Perſon, and of good Condition: She had many Sutors, old Men, whom ſhe declined; ſome Gentlemen of decay'd Fortunes, whom ſhe liked not, for ſhe was covetous and ſparing: By my Fellow-Servant ſhe was obſerved frequently to ſay, ſhe cared not if ſhe married a Man that would love her, ſo that he had never a Penny; and would ordinarily talk of me when ſhe was in Bed: This Servant gave me Encouragement to give the Onſet; I was much perplexed hereat, for ſhould I attempt her, and be ſlighted, ſhe would never care for me afterwards; but again, I conſidered that if I ſhould attempt and fail, ſhe would never ſpeak of it; or would any believe I durſt be ſo audacious as to propound ſuch a Queſtion, the Diſproportion of Years and Fortune being ſo great betwixt us: However, all her Talk was of Huſbands, and in my Preſence ſaying one Day after Dinner, ſhe reſpected not Wealth, but deſired an honeſt Man; I made Answer, I thought I could fit her with ſuch
a Huſ-

a Husband ; she asked me where ? I made no more ado, but presently saluted her, and told her my self was the Man : She reply'd, I was too young ; I said nay ; what I had not in Wealth, I would supply in Love ; and saluted her frequently, which she accepted lovingly ; and next Day at Dinner made me sit down at Dinner with my Hat on my Head, and said, she intended to make me her Husband ; for which I gave her many Salutes, &c.

I was very careful to keep all Things secret, for I well knew, if she should take Counsel of any Friend, my Hopes would be frustrated, therefore I suddenly procured her Consent to marry, unto which she assented ; so that upon the 8th Day of September 1627, at St. George's Church in Southwark, I was marry'd unto her, and for two whole Years we kept it secret. When it was divulged, and some People blamed her for it, she constantly reply'd, that she had no Kindred ; if I proved kind, and a good Husband, she would make me a Man ; if I proved otherwise, she only undid her self. In the third and fourth Years after our Marriage, we had strong Suits of Law with her first Husband's Kindred, but overthrew them in the End. During all the Time of her Life, which was until October 1633, we lived very lovingly, I frequenting no Company at all ; my Exercises were sometimes Angling, in which I ever delighted : My Companions two aged Men. I then frequented Lectures, two or three in a Week ; I heard Mr. Sute in Lombard-street, Mr. Gouge of Black-Fryers, Dr. Micklethwait of the Temple, Dr. Oldsworth, with others, the most learned Men of those Times, and leaned in Judgment to Puritanism. In October 1627, I was made free of the Salters Company in London.

How I came to study Astrology.

It happened on one Sunday 1632, as my self and a Justice of Peace's Clerk were, before Service, discoursing

courſing of many Things, he chanced to ſay, that ſuch a Perſon was a great Scholar, nay, ſo learned, that he could make an Almanack, which to me then was ſtrange: One Speech begot another, till, at laſt, he ſaid, he could bring me acquainted with one *Evans* in *Gun-Powder-Alley*, who had formerly lived in *Staffordſhire*, that was an excellent wiſe Man, and ſtudy'd the *Black Art*. The ſame Week after we went to ſee Mr. *Evans*; when we came to his Houſe, he having been drunk the Night before, was upon his Bed, if it be lawful to call that a Bed whereon he then lay; he roused up himſelf, and, after ſome Complements, he was content to inſtruct me in *Aſtrology*; I attended his beſt Opportunities for ſeven or eight Weeks, in which time I could ſet a Figure perfectly: Books he had not any, except *Haly de judiciis Aſtrorum*, and *Origanus* his *Ephemerides*; ſo that as often as I entred his Houſe, I thought I was in the Wilderneſs. Now ſomething of the Man: He was by Birth a *Welchman*, a *Maſter of Arts*, and in Sacred Orders; he had formerly had a Cure of Souls in *Staffordſhire*, but now was come to try his Fortunes at *London*, being in a manner enforced to fly for ſome Offences very ſcandalous committed by him in theſe Parts, where he had lately lived; for he gave Judgment upon things loſt, the only Shame of *Aſtrology*: He was the moſt *Saturnine* Perſon my Eyes ever beheld, either before I practiſed or ſince; of a middle Stature, broad Forehead, Beetle-brow'd, thick Shoulders, flat Noſed, full Lips, down-look'd, black curling ſtiff Hair, ſplay-footed; to give him his Right, he had the moſt piercing Judgment naturally upon a Figure of Theft, and many other Queſtions, that I ever met withal; yet for Money he would willingly give contrary Judgments, was much addiſted to Debauchery, and then very abuſive and quarrellſom, ſeldom without a black Eye, or
one

One Mischief or other: This is the same *Evans* who made so many *Antimonial* Cups, upon the Sale whereof he principally subsisted; he understood *Latin* very well, the *Greek* Tongue not at all: He had some Arts above, and beyond Astrology, for he was well versed in the Nature of Spirits, and had many times used the circular way of invoking, as in the Time of our Familiarity he told me. Two of his Actions I will relate, as to me delivered. There was in *Staffordshire* a young Gentlewoman that had, for her Preferment, marry'd an aged rich Person, who being desirous to purchase some Lands for his Wife's Maintenance; but this young Gentlewoman, his Wife, was desired to buy the Land in the Name of a Gentleman, her very dear Friend, but for her Use: After the aged Man was dead, the Widow could by no Means procure the Deed of Purchase from her Friend; whereupon she applies her self to *Evans*, who, for a Sum of Money, promises to have her Deed safely delivered into her own Hands; the Sum was Forty Pounds. *Evans* applies himself to the Invocation of the Angel *Salmon*, of the Nature of *Mars*, reads his Litany in the Common-Prayer-Book every Day, at select Hours, wears his Surplice, lives orderly all that Time; at the Fortnight's End *Salmon* appear'd, and having received his Commands what to do, in a small Time returns with the very Deed desired, lays it down gently upon a Table where a white Cloth was spread, and then, being dismiss'd, vanish'd. The Deed was, by the Gentleman who formerly kept it, placed among many other of his Evidences in a large wooden Chest, and in a Chamber at one End of the House; but upon *Salmon's* removing and bringing away the Deed, all that Bay of Building was quite blown down, and all his own proper Evidences torn all to pieces. The second Story followeth.

Some-

Some time before I became acquainted with him, he then living in the *Minories*, was desired by the Lord *Bothwell* and Sir *Kenelm Digby* to show them a Spirit, he promised so to do; the time came, and they were all in the Body of the Circle, when lo, upon a sudden, after some time of Invocation, *Evans* was taken from out the Room, and carried into the Field near *Battersea* Causeway, close to the *Thames*. Next Morning a Country-man going by to his Labour, and espying a Man in black Cloaths, came unto him and awaked him, and asked him how he came there; *Evans* by this understood his Condition, enquired where he was, how far from *London*, and in what Parish he was; which when he understood, he told the Labourer he had been late at *Battersea* the Night before, and by chance was left there by his Friends. Sir *Kenelm Digby* and the Lord *Bothwell* went home without any Harm, came next Day to hear what was become of him; just as they in the Afternoon came into the House, a Messenger came from *Evans* to his Wife, to come to him at *Battersea*: I enquired upon what Account the Spirit carry'd him away, who said he had not, at the time of Invocation, made any Suffumigation, at which the Spirits were vexed. It happen'd, that after I discerned what Astrology was, I went weekly into *Little-Britain*, and bought many Books of Astrology, not acquainting *Evans* therewith. Mr. *A. Bedwell*, Minister of *Tottenham-High-Cross* near *London*, who had been many Years Chaplain to Sir *Henry Wotton*, whilst he was Ambassador at *Venice*, and assisted *Pietro Soave Polano*, in composing and writing the Council of *Trent*, was lately dead; and his Library being sold into *Little-Britain*, I bought amongst them my choicest Books of Astrology. The Occasion of our falling out was thus; a Woman demanded the Resolution of a Question, which when he had done, she went her way; I standing by all the while,
and

and observing the Figure, asked him why he gave the Judgment he did, sith the Signification shewed the quite contrary, and gave him my Reasons, which when he had ponder'd, he call'd me Boy, and must he be contradicted by such a Novice ! But when his Heat was over, he said, had he not so judged to please the Woman, she would have given him nothing, and he had a Wife and Family to provide for ; upon this we never came together after. Being now very meanly introduced, I apply'd my self to study those Books I had obtain'd, many times twelve, or fifteen, or eighteen Hours Day and Night ; I was curious to discover, whether there was any Verity in the Art or not. Astrology in this Time, *viz.* in 1633, was very rare in *London*, few professing it that understood any thing thereof. Let it not repent you (O noble Esquire) if now I make a short Digression of such Persons as then professed Astrology, that Posterity may understand in what Condition I found it, and in whose Hands that little that remained was lodged.

There lived then in *Houndsditch* one *Alexander Hart*, who had been a Soldier formerly, a comely old Man, of good Aspect ; he professed Questionary Astrology, and a little of Physick ; his greatest Skill was to elect young Gentlemen fit Times to play at Dice, that they might win or get Money. I went unto him for Resolutions for three Questions at several times, and he erred in every one. To speak soberly of him, he was but a Cheat, as appeared suddenly after ; for a rustical Fellow of the City, desirous of Knowledge, contracted with *Hart* to assist for a Conference with a Spirit, and paid him Twenty Pounds of Thirty Pounds the Contract. At last, after many Delays, and no Spirit appearing, or Money return'd, the young Man indicts him for a Cheat at the *Old-Baily* in *London* ; the Jury found the Bill, and at the Hearing

ing of the Cause this Jest happen'd, some of the Bench enquired what *Hart* did, *he sat like an Alderman in his Gown*, quoth the Fellow; at which the Court fell into a great Laughter, most of the Court being Aldermen. He was to have been set upon the Pillory for this Cheat, but *John Taylour*, the *Water Poet*, being his great Friend, got the Lord Chief Justice *Richardson* to bail him, 'ere he stood upon the Pillory, and so *Hart* fled presently into *Holland*, where he ended his Days. It was my Fortune, upon the Sale of his Books in 1634, to buy *Argoll's Primum Mobile* for fourteen Shillings, which I only wanted.

In *Lambeth Marsh* at the same time lived one Captain *Bubb*, who resolved *Horary Questions Astrologically*, a proper handsom Man, well spoken, but withal covetous, and of no Honesty, as will appear by this Story, for which he stood upon the Pillory. A certain Butcher was robbed, going to a Fair, of Forty Pounds; he goes to *Bubb*, who for Ten Pounds in Hand paid, would help him to the Thief; appoints the Butcher such a Night percisely, to watch at such a Place, and the Thief should come thither; commanded him by any means to stop him; the Butcher attends according to Direction. About 12 in the Night there comes one Riding very fiercely upon a full Gallop, whom the Butcher knocks down, and seized both upon Man and Horse: The Butcher brings the Man and Horse to the next Town, but then the Person whom the Butcher attack'd was *John*, the Servant of *Dr. Bubb*; for which the Captain was indicted and suffered upon the Pillory, and afterwards ended his Days in great Disgrace.

There was also one *Jeffry Neve*, at this time a Student in *Physick* and *Astrology*; he had formerly been a Merchant in *Yarmouth*, and Mayor of the Town, but failing in Estate, went into the Low-

Countries, and at *Franecker* took the Degree of Doctor in Physick; he had some little smattering in Astrology; could resolve a Question of Theft, or Love-question, something of Sickness; a very grave Person, laborious and honest, of tall Stature and comly Feature; he died of late Years, almost in the very Street near *Tower-hill*: He had a Design of printing 200 verified Questions, and desired my Approbation 'ere they went to the Press; that I first would see them, and then give Testimony. When I had perused the first Forty, I corrected Thirty of them, would read over no more; I shewed him how erroneous they were, desired his Emendation of the rest, which he performed not. These were afterwards, in *R. Saunders's* Custody, bought by him either of his Son or of a Stationer: (a)

There was then *William Poole*, a Nibler at Astrology, sometimes a Gardner, an Apparitor, a Drawer of Linnen; as Quoifs, Handkerchiefs; a Plasterer and a Bricklayer; he would brag many times he had been of seventeen Professions; was very good Company for Drolling, as you your self very well remember (most honoured Sir) (b) he pretended to Poetry; and that Posterity may have a Taste of it, you shall here have inserted two Verses of his own making; the Occasion of making them was thus. One Sir *Thomas Jay*, a Justice of the Peace in *Rosemary-Lane*, issued out his Warrant for the Apprehension of *Poole*, upon a pretended Suggestion, that he was in Company with some lewd People in a Tavern, where

(a) But first offered to be sold to me for 20 s. when Mr. Saunders died I bought them of his Son for less.—
E. A. —

(b) 17 December this *William Poole* was married to *Alice How*, at *St. George's Church* in *Southwark*. Mr. Lilly gave her to him.

a Sil-

a Silver Cup was lost, *Anglice* stolen. Poole hearing of the Warrant, packs up his little Trunk of Books, being all his Library, and runs to *Westminster*; but hearing some Months after that the Justice was dead and buried, he came and enquired where the Grave was; and after the Discharge of his Belly upon the Grave, left these two Verses upon it, which he swore he made himself.

*Here lieth buried Sir Thomas Jay, Knight,
Who being dead, I upon his Grave did shite.*

He died about 1651, or 1652, at *St. Mary Overy's* in *Southwark*; and this was part of his last Will.

Item; I give to Dr. Ardee all my Books, and one Manuscript of my own, worth one Hundred of Lilly's Introduction.

Item; If Dr. Ardee give my Wife any thing that is mine, I wish the Devil may fetch him Body and Soul. The Doctor, terrified with this Curse, gave me all the Books and his Goods, which I presently gave to his Widow.—*Interdum seria jocos.*

Now also lived this Dr. Ardee, but his true Name was *Richard Delahay*, formerly an Attorney; he studied Astrology and Physick, being in Necessity, and forced from *Derbyshire*, where he had lived, by the Old Countess of *Shrewsbury*; he was of moderate Judgment, both in Astrology and Physick. He had formerly been well acquainted with *Charles Sledd*, (a) an Apothecary, who used the Crystal, and had a very perfect Sight. This Dr. Ardee hath many times affirmed unto me, (*esto fides.*) that an Angel, one time, appeared unto him, and offer'd him a Lease of his Life for one Thousand Years; he died about the Age of

(a) Of this Charles Sledd, there is Mention made in Dr. Dee's Book of his Discourse with Spirits set forth by Dr. Causabon. Page 17.

Fourscore Years; left his Widow, who married into *Kent*, (b) worth 2, or 300*l.* and *William Poole's* Estate came to four or five Pounds.

In the Years 1632, and 1633, *John Booker* became famous for a Prediction of his upon a Solar Eclipse in the 19th Degree of *Aries* 1663, taken out of *Leovitius de magnis conjunctionibus, viz. Oh Reges & Principes, &c.* Both the King of *Bohemia*, and *Gustavus* King of *Sweden*, dying during the Effects of that Eclipse.

John Booker was born in *Manchester*, of good Parentage, in the Year 1601, was in his Youth well instructed in the *Latin* Tongue, which he understood very well: He seemed from his Infancy to be designed for *Astrology*; for from the Time he had any Understanding, he would be always poring on, and studying Almanacks. He came to *London* at fitting Years, and served an Apprentiship to an Haberdasher in *Laurence-Lane, London*; but either wanting Stock to set up, disliking the Calling, he left his Trade, and taught to write at *Hadley* in *Middlesex* several Scholars in that School: He wrote singularly well both Secretary and Roman. In Process of Time he served Sir *Christopher Clethero*, Knight, Alderman of *London*, as his Clerk, being a City Justice of Peace: He also was Clerk to Sir *Hugh Hammersley*, Alderman of *London*, both which he served with great Credit and Estimation; and by that Means became not only well known, but as well respected of the most eminent Citizens of *London*, even to his dying Day.

He was an excellent Proficient in *Astrology*, whose excellent Verses upon the twelve Months, framed according to the Configurations of each Month, being blessed with Success according to his Predictions, procured him much Reputation all over *England*: He was a very honest Man, ab-

(a) To one Moreland.

horred

horred any Deceit in the Art he studied ; had a curious Fancy in judging of Thefts, and as successful in resolving Love-Questions : He was no mean Proficient in Astronomy ; he understood much in Physick ; was a great Admirer of the *Antimonial Cup* ; not unlearned in Chymistry, which he loved well, but did not practise. He was inclined to a *Diabetes* ; and in the last three Years of his Life was afflicted with a *Dysentery*, which at last consumed him to nothing : He died of good Fame in 1667. Since his Decease I have seen one Nativity of his Performance exactly directed, and judged with as much Learning as from Astrology can be expected.

His Library of Books came short of the World's Approbation, and were by his Widow sold to *Elias Ashmole*, Esq; who most generously gave her (a) far more Money than they were worth ; but out of his Respects unto the Deceased and his Memory, he most willingly paid her the Money. He left behind him two Sons and two Daughters ; he left in Writing very little but his *Annual Prognostications*. He began first to write about the Year 1630 ; he wrote *Bellum Hibernicæ*, in the Time of the long Parliament, a very sober and judicious Book, the Epistle thereunto I gave him. He wrote lately a small Treatise of *Easter-Day*, a very learned Thing, wherein he shewed much Learning and Reading. To say no more of him, he lived an honest Man, his Fame not questioned at his Death.

In this Year 1633, I became acquainted with *Nicholas Fiske*, Licentiate in Physick, who was born in *Suffolk*, near *Framingham* (b) *Castle*, of very good Parentage, who educated him at Coun-

(a) They cost me 140 Pounds.

(b) There is no such Place in Suffolk, it being mistaken for Framlingham in that County.

try Schools, until he was fit for the University ; but he went not to the Academy , studying at home both Astrology and Physick, which he afterwards practised in Colchester ; and there was well acquainted with Dr. Gilbert, who wrote *De Magnete*. He came afterwards unto London, and exercised his Faculty in several Places thereof. (For in his Youth he would never stay long in one House.) In 1633 he was sent for out of *Sussex* by Dr. *Winston* of *Gresham* Colledge, to instruct the Lord Treasurer *Weston's* Son in Arithmetick, Astronomy upon the Globes, and their Uses. He was a Person very studious, laborious, of good Apprehension, and had by his own Industry obtained both in Astrology, Physick, Arithmetick, Astronomy, Geometry and Algebra, singular Judgment : He would in Astrology resolve Horary Questions very soundly ; but was ever diffident of his own Abilities : He was exquisitely skilful in the Art of Directions upon Nativities, and had a good Genius in performing Judgment thereupon, but very unhappy he was, that he had no Genius in teaching his Scholars, for he never perfected any : his own Son *Matthew* hath often told me, that where his Father did teach any Scholars in his time, they would principally learn of Him ; he had *Scorpio* ascending, and was secretly envious to those he thought had more Parts than himself ; However I must be ingenious, and do affirm, that by frequent Conversation with him, I came to know which were the best Authors, and much to enlarge my Judgment, especially in the Art of Directions : He visited me most Days once after I became acquainted with him, and would communicate his most doubtful Questions unto me, and accept of my Judgment therein rather than his own : He singularly well judged and directed *Sir Robert Holborn's* Nativity, but desired me to adjudge the first House, Seventh and Tenth thereof, which

which I did, and which Nativity (since Sir Robert gave it me) come to your Hands, and remains in your Library; [oh learned Esquire] he died about the Seventy-eighth Year of his Age, poor.

In this Year also *William Bredon*, Parson or Vicar of *Thornton* in *Buckinghamshire*, was living, a profound Divine, but absolutely the most polite Person for Nativities in that Age, strictly adhering to *Ptolomy*, which he well understood; he had a Hand in composing Sir *Christopher Heydon's* Defence of Judicial Astrology, being that time his Chaplain; he was so given over to Tobacco and Drink, that when he had no Tobbacco, he would cut the Bell-ropes and smoke them.

I come now to continue the Story of my own Life, but thought it not inconvenient to commit unto Memory something concerning those Persons who practised when first I became a Student in Astrology; I have wrote nothing concerning any of them, which I my self do not either know, or believe to be true.

In *October* 1633 my first Wife died, and left me what ever was hers; it was considerable, very near to the Value of One Thousand Pounds.

One whole Year and more I continued a Widower, and followed my Studies very hard; during which time a Scholar pawned unto me, for Forty Shillings, *Ars Notoria*, (a) a large Volume wrote in Parchment, with the Names of those Angels, and their Pictures, which are thought and believed by wise Men, to teach and instruct in all the several Liberal Sciences, and is attained by observing elected Times, and those Prayers appropriated unto the several Angels.

I do ingeniously acknowledge, I used those Prayers according to the Form and Direction pre-

(a) Among Dr. Napier's MSS. I had an *Ars Notoria*, written by S. Forman in large Vellum.

scribed for some Weeks, using the Word *Astrologia* for *Astronomia*; but of this no more: That *Ars Notoria*, inserted in the latter end of *Cornelius Agrippa* signifieth nothing; many of the Prayers being not the same, nor is the Direction to these Prayers any thing considerable.

In the Year 1634, I taught Sir *George Peckham*, Knight, Astrology, that Part which concerns Sickness, wherein he so profited, that in two or three Months he would give a very true Discovery of any Disease, only by his Figures; he practised in *Nottingham*, but unfortunately died in 1635 at *St. Winifred's Well* in *Wales*; in which Well he continued so long mumbling his *Pater Nosters* and *Sancta Winifrida ora pro me*, that the Cold struck into his Body; and, after his coming forth of that Well, never spoke more.

In this Year 1634, I purchased the Moiety of thirteen Houses in the *Strand* for five hundred and thirty Pounds.

In *November*, the 18th Day, I was again the second time married, and had five hundred Pounds Portion with that Wife; she was of the Nature of *Mars*.

Two Accidents happen'd to me in that Year something memorable.

Davy Ramsey, his Majesty's Clock-maker, had been informed, that there was a great Quantity of Treasure buried in the Cloyster of *Westminster-Abbey*; he acquaints *Dean Williams* therewith, who was also then Bishop of *Lincoln*; the Dean gave him Liberty to search after it, with this *Proviso*, that if any was discovered, his Church should have a Share of it. *Davy Ramsey* finds out one *John Scott*, (a) who pretended the use of the

(a) This *Scott* lived in *Pudding-Lane*, and had sometime been a Page (or such like) to the Lord *Norris*.

Mosaical

Mosaical Rods to assist him herein ; I was desired to join with him, unto which I consented. One Winter's Night *Davy Ramsey*, with several Gentlemen, my self, and *Scott*, enter'd the Cloysters ; we play'd the Hazel-rod round about the Cloyster ; upon the West-side of the Cloysters the Rods turned one over another , an Argument that the Treasure was there : The Labourers digged at least six Foot deep, and then we met with a Coffin ; but in regard it was not heavy, we did not open , which we afterwards much repented : From the Cloysters we went into the Abbey Church, where, upon a sudden, (there being no Wind when we began) so fierce, so high, so blustering and loud a Wind did rise, that we verily believed the West-end of the Church would have fallen upon us ; our Rods would not move at all ; the Candles and Torches, all but one, were extinguished, or burned very dimly : (a) *John Scott* ; my Partner, was amazed, looked pale, knew not what to think or do, until I gave Directions and Command to dismiss the *Demons* ; which when done, all was quiet again, and each Man returned unto his Lodging late, about 12 a-Clock at Night ; I could never since be induced to joyn with any in such like Actions.

The true Miscarriage of the Business, was by reason of so many People being present at the Operation ; for there was above 30, some laughing, others deriding us ; so that if we had not dismissed the *Demons*, I believe most part of the *Abbey-Church* had been blown down ; Secrecy and intelligent Operators, with a strong Confidence and Knowledge of what they are doing, are best for this Work.

(a) *Davy Ramsey brought an half quartern Sack to put the Treasure in.*

In 1634, or 1635, a Lady living in *Greenwich*, who had tried all the known Artists in *London*, but to no purpose, came weeping and lamenting her Condition, which was this : She had permitted a young Lord to have the Use of her Body, 'till she was with Child by him ; after which time he could not or would not endure her Sight, but commanded his Lacquies and Servants to keep his Doors fast shut, lest she should get into his Chamber, or if they chanced to see her near his Lodging, to drive her away, which they several times had done. Her Desire unto me was to assist her to see him, and then she should be content ; whereupon I ordered such a Day, such an Hour of that Day to try her Fortune once more, she obeyed ; and when she came to the *King's Bench*, where the Lord there was imprison'd, the outward Door stood wide open, none speaking a Word unto her, she went up Stairs, no Body molesting her, she found the Lord's Chamber-Door wide open, he in Bed, not a Servant to be heard or seen, so she was pleased : Three Days after she came to acquaint me with her Success, and then drew out of her Pocket a Paper full of Ratsbane ; which had she not had Admission unto him, that Day I appointed, she would in a Pint of White-wine have drank at the Stair's Foot where the Lord lodged. The like Misfortune befell her after that ; when the Lord was out of the Prison, then I ordered her such a Day to go and see a Play at *Salisbury Court*, which she did, and within one quarter of an Hour the Lord came into the same Box wherein she was. But I grew weary of such Employments, and since have burned my Books which instructed these Curiosities : For after that I became melancholly, very much afflicted with the Hypochondraick Melancholly, growing lean and spare, and every Day worse ; so that in the Year 1635 my Infirmary
con-

continuing, and my Acquaintance increasing, I resolved to live in the Country, and in *March* and *April* 1636 removed my Goods unto *Hersham*, where I now live; and in *May* my Person, where I continued until 1641, no notice being taken who, or what I was.

In the Years 1637 and 1638, I had great Law-suits both in the *Exchequer* and *Chancery*, about a Lease I had of the annual Value of eighty Pounds; I got the Victory.

In the Year 1640 I instructed *John Humphreys*, Master of that Art in the Study of Astrology; upon this occasion, being at *London*, by accident in *Fleetstreet*, I met Dr. *Percivall Willoughby* of *Derby*; we were of old Acquaintance, and he but by great chance lately come to Town, we went to the *Mitre-Tavern* in *Fleetstreet*, where I sent for old *Will Poole* the Astrologer, living then in *Ram-Alley*: being come to us, the Doctor produced a Bill, set forth by a Master of Arts in *Cambridge*, intimating his Abilities for resolving of all manner of Questions Astrologically: The Bill was shewed, and I wondring at it, *Poole* made answer, he knew the Man, and that he was a silly Fool; I, quoth he, can do more than he; he sees me every Day, he'll be here by and by; and indeed he came into our Room presently: *Poole* had just as we came to him set a Figure, and then shewed it me, desiring my Judgment; which I refused, but desired the Master of Arts to judge first; he denied, so I gave mine, to the very great liking of *Humphreys*, who presently enquired, if I would teach him, and for what? I told him I was willing to teach, but would have an 100*l.* I heard *Poole*, whilst I was judging the Figure, whisper in *Humphreys's* Ear, and swear I was the best in *England*. Staying three or four Days in Town, at last we contracted for 40*l.* for I could never be quiet from his Solicitations; he invited me to Supper, and before I had shewed him

him any thing, paid me 35 *l.* As we were at Supper a Client came to speak with him, and so up into his Closet he went with his Client ; I call'd him in before he set his Figure, or resolved the Question, and instantly acquainted him how he should discover the Moles or Marks of his Client, he set his Figure and presently discovers four Moles the Querent had ; and was so overjoy'd therewith, that he came tumbling down the Stairs, crying, Four by G—, Four by G—, I will not take one hundred Pounds for this one Rule : In six Weeks time, and tarrying with him three Days in a Week, he became a most judicious Person.

This *Humphreys* was a laborious Person, vain-glorious, loquacious, Fool-hardy, desirous of all Secrets which he knew not, insomuch that he would have given me 200 *l.* to have instructed him in some Curiosities he was perswaded I had Knowledge of, but *Artis est celere Artem*, especially to those who live not in the Fear of God, or can be Masters of their own Councils : He was in Person and Condition such another as that Monster of Ingratitude my *quondam* Taylor, *John Gadbury*. After my Refusal of teaching him, what he was not capable of, we grew strange, though I afforded him many Civilities whenever he required it ; for after the Siege of *Colchester* he wrote a Book against me, called *Anti Merlinus-Anglicus*, married a second Wife, his first living in *Cambridgeshire*, then practised Physick by a contrary Name, having Intentions to practise in *Ireland* ; he went to *Bristol*, but there understanding the Parliament's Forces had reduced that Kingdom, he came back to *London*, but durst not abide therein, but running from his second Wife, who also had another Husband, he went to Sea, with Intention for *Barbadoes*, but died by the Way in his Voyage. I had never seen *John Booker* at that Time ; but telling him

him one Day I had a Desire to see him, but first, ere I would speak with him, I would fit my self with my old Rules, and rub up my Astrology; for at that Time [and this was 1640] I thought *John Booker* the greatest and most compleat Astrologer in the World. My Scholar *Humphreys* presently made answer; 'Tutor, you need not pump for any of your former Knowledge, *John Booker* is no such Pumper; we met, saith he, the other Day, and 'I was too hard for him my self, upon Judgment of 3 or 4 Questions.' If all the Transactions happening unto that my Scholar were in one Volume, they would transcend either *Guzman*, *Don Quixot*, *Lazarillo de Tormes*, or any other of the like Nature I ever did see.

Having now in part recovered my Health, being weary of the Country, and perceiving there was Money to be got in *London*, and thinking my self to be as sufficiently enabled in Astrology as any I could meet with, I made it my Business to repair thither; and so in *September* 1641 I did; where, in the Years 1642 and 1643, I had great Leisure to better my former Knowledge; I then read over all my Books of Astrology, over and over; had very little or no Practice at all: And whereas formerly I could never endure to read *Valentine Naibod* his Commentary upon *Alcabitus*, now having seriously study'd him, I found him to be the profoundest Author I ever met with; him I traversed over Day and Night, from whom I must acknowledge to have advanced my Judgment and Knowledge unto that height I soon after arrived at, or unto: A most rational Author, and the sharpest Explicitor of *Ptolomy* that hath yet appeared. To exercise my Genius, I began to collect Notes, and thought of writing some little thing upon the σ of η and ψ then approaching: I had not wrote above one Sheet, and that very meanly, but *James Lord Galway* came to see me; and, by chance, casting his
Eyes

Eyes upon that rude Collection, he read it over, and so approved of it, yea, so encouraged me to proceed farther, that then, and after that Time, I spent most of my Time in composing thereof, and bringing it, in the End, into that Method wherein it was printed 1644. I do seriously now profess, I had not the Assistance of any Person living, in the writing or composing thereof. Mr. *Fiske* sent me a small Manuscript which had been Sir *Christopher Heydon's*, who had wrote something of the Conjunction of H and 4 , 1603; out of which, to bring my Method in order, I transcribed, in the Beginning, five or six Lines, and not any more, though that graceless Fellow *Gadbury* wrote the contrary; but, *Semel & semper Nebulo & Mendax*. I did formerly write one Treatise, in the Year 1639, upon the Eclipse of the Sun, in the 11th Degree of *Gemini*, 22 May 1639: It consisted of six Sheets of Paper. But that Manuscript I gave unto my most munificent Patron, and ever bountiful Friend. *William Pennington*, of *Muncaster* in *Cumberland*, Esq; a wise and excellently learned Person; who, from the Year 1634, even till he died, continued unto me the most grateful Person I ever was acquainted with. I became acquainted with him by means of *Davy Ramsey*.

Oh! most noble Esquire, let me now beg your Pardon, if I digress for some small Time, in commemorating his Bounty unto me, and my Requital of his Friendship, by performing many Things successfully for his Advantage.

In 1639 he was made Captain, and served His Majesty in his then Wars against the *Scots*; during which Time a Farmer's Daughter being delivered of a Bastard, and hearing, by Report, that he was slain, father'd the Child upon him. Shortly after he returned, most wofully vexed to be thus abused, when absent. The Woman was countenanced by some Gentlemen of *Cumberland*, in this
her

her Villany against him; so that, notwithstanding he had Warrants to attach her Body, he could never discover her: But yet, hunting her from one Place to another, her Friends thought it most convenient to send her to *London*, where she might be in most Safety. She came up to the City, and immediately I had Notice thereof, and the Care of that Matter left unto me. I procured the Lord Chief Justice *Bramston's* Warrant, and had it lying dormant by me. She had not been in the City above one Fortnight, but that I, going casually to the Clerk of the Assizes Office for *Cumberland*, saw there an handsome Woman; and hearing of her speak the Northern Tone, I concluded she was the Party I did so want. I rounded the Clerk in his Ear, and told him I would give him Five Shillings to hold the Woman in Chat till I came again, for I had a Writing concerned her. I hastened for my Warrant, and a Constable, and returned into the Office, seized her Person before the Clerk of the Assizes, who was very angry with me: It was then Sessions at *Old-Bayly*, and neither Judge nor Justice to be found. At Night we carried her before the Recorder *Gardner*, it being *Saturday* at Night. She, having no Bail, was sent to *Bridewel*, where she remained till *Monday*. On *Monday* Morning, at the *Old-Bayly*, she produced Bail; but I desiring of the Recorder some Time to enquire after the Bail, whether they were sufficient, returned presently, and told him one of the Bail was a Prisoner in *Ludgate*, the other a very poor Man: At which he was so vexed, that he sent her to *Newgate*, where she lay all that Week, until she could please me with good Sureties; which then she did, and so was bound over to appear at the next Assizes in *Cumberland*; which she did, and was there sentenced to be whipp'd, and imprisoned one whole Year.

This Action infinitely pleas'd Mr. *Pennington*,
who

who thought I could do Wonders; and I was most thankfully requited for it. All the while of this scandalous Business, do what he could, he could not discover what Persons they were that supported her; but the Woman's Father coming to Town, I became acquainted with him, by the Name of Mr. *Sute*, Merchant; invited him to a Dinner; got *George Farmer* with me; when we so plied him with Wine, he could neither see or feel. I pay'd the Reckoning, being 22*s*. But next Morning the poor Man had never a Writing or Letter in his Pocket. I sent them down to my Friend, who thereby discovered the Plots of several Gentlemen in the Business; after which, Mr. *Sute* returned to his old Name again.

Mr. *Pennington* was a true Royalist, whom *Charles* first the ~~Second~~ made one of his Commissioners of Array for *Cumberland*; having Directions from me continually how Matters did and would go betwixt the King and Parliament, he acted warily, and did but sign one only Warrant of that Nature, and then gave over. When the Times of Sequestrations came, one *John Musgrave*, the most bold and impudent Fellow, and most active of all the North of *England*, and most malicious against my Friend, had got this Warrant under Mr. *Pennington's* Hand into his Custody; which affrighted my Friend, and so it might, for it was Cause enough of Sequestration, and would have done it, *Musgrave* intending and promising himself great Matters out of his Estate, I was made acquainted herewith. *Musgrave* being in *London*, by much ado, I got acquainted with him, pretending my self a bitter Enemy against *Pennington*, whereat he very heartily rejoiced; and so we appointed one Night to meet at the *Five Bells*, to compare Notes; for I pretended much. We did meet, and he very suddenly produced upon the Table all his Papers, and withal, the Warrant of Array unto which my
Friend

Friend had set his Hand ; which when I saw, I marry, said I, *this is his Hand I will swear ; now have at all ; come, the other Cup, this Warrant shall pay for all.* I observed where the Warrant lay upon the Table, and, after some time took occasion ignorantly to let the Candle fall out, which whilst he went to light again at the Fire, I made sure of the Warrant, and put it into my Boot ; he never missing it of 8 or 10 Days, about which Time, I believe, it was above half way towards *Cumberland*, for I instantly sent it by the Post, with this friendly Caveat, *Sin no more.* *Musgrave* durst not challenge me in those Times, and so the Business was ended very satisfactory to my Friend, and no less to my self.

He was, besides, extreamly abused by one *Isaac Antrobus*, Parson of *Egremond*, a most evil Liver, bold, and very rich ; at last he procured a Minister of that Country, in hope of the Parsonage, to article against him in *London*, before the Committee of plundered Ministers. I was once more invited to solicit against *Antrobus*, which I did upon three or more Articles.

I. That *Antrobus* baptized a Cock, and called him *Peter*.

II. He had knowledge of such a Woman and of her Daughter, *viz.* of both their Bodies, in as large a manner as ever of his own Wife.

III. Being drunk, a Woman took a Cord and tied it about his privy Members unto a Manger in a Stable.

IV. Being a continual Drunkard.

V. He never preached, &c.

Antrobus was now become a great Champion for the Parliament ; but, at the Day of Hearing, I had procured abundance of my Friends to be there ; for the Godly, as they termed themselves, sided with him ;

him; the present Master of the Rolls was Chairman that Day, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*.

Who hearing the Foulness of the Cause, was very much ashamed thereof; I remember *Antrobus*, being there, pleaded he was in his natural Condition when he acted so ungraciously.

What Condition were you in, said the Chairman, when you lay with Mother and Daughter?

There's no Proof of that, saith he.

None but your own Confession, said the Chairman, nor could any tell so well.

I am not given to Drunkenness (quoth he.) He was so drunk within this Fortnight (quoth I) he reeled from one Side of the Street to the other; here's the Witness to prove it: who presently, before the Committee, being sworn, made it good, and named the Place and Street where he was drunk. So he was adjudged Scandalous, and outed of his Benefice, and our Minister had the Parsonage.

You cannot imagine how much the Routing of this drunken Parson pleased Mr. *Pennington*, who paid all Charges munificently and thankfully.

But now follows the last and greatest Kindness I ever did him; notwithstanding the Committee for Sequestrations in *Cumberland* were his very good Friends, yet the Sub-Sequestrators, of their own Heads, and without Order, and by Strength of Arms, secured his Iron, his Wood, and so much of his Personal Estate as was valued at 7000 l. Now had I Complaint upon Complaint, Would I suffer my old Friend to be thus abused? it was in my Power to free him from these Villains.

I hereupon advised what was best to do, and was counselled to get Mr. Speaker *Lenthall's* Letter to the Sub-Sequestrators, and command them to be obedient to the Committee of the County.

Whereupon, I framed a Letter my self, unto the Sub-Sequestrators directed, and with it, my self and Mr. *Laurence Maydwell* (whom your self well

well knew) went to Mr. Speaker, unto whom we sufficiently related the Stubborness of the Officers of *Cumberland*; their Disobedience to the Committee; and then shewed him the Letter, which when he had read over, he most courteously signed, adding withal, that if they proceeded further in Sequestering Mr. *Pennington*, he would command a Serjeant at Arms to bring them up to answer their Contempts: I immediately posted that Letter to my Friend, which when the absurd Fellows received, they delivered him Possession of his Goods again; and, for my Pains, when he came to *London*, gave me One hundred Pounds: He died in 1652, of a violent Fever. I did carefully, in 1642 and 1643, take notice of every grand Action which happened betwixt King and Parliament, and did first then incline to believe, that as all sublunary Affairs did depend upon superior Causes, so there was a Possibility of discovering them by the Configurations of the superior Bodies; in which Way making some Essays in those two Years, I found Encouragement to proceed further, which I did; I perused the Writings of the Ancients, but therein they were silent, or gave no Satisfaction; at last, I framed unto my self that Method, which then and since I follow, which, I hope, in Time may be more perfected by a more penetrating Person than my self.

In 1643, I became familiarly known to Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock*, a Member of the House of Commons; he being sick, his Urine was brought unto me by Mrs. *Lisse*, † Wife to *John Lisse*, afterwards one of the Keepers of the Great Seal; having set

† She was afterwards beheaded at Winchester, for harbouring one N. Ithrap. a Rebel in the D. of Monmouth's Army 1685. She had made her self remarkable, by saying at the Martyrdom of K. Charles I. 1648, that her Blood leap'd within her to see the Tyrant fall; for this, when she fell into the State Trap, she neither did nor could expect Favour from any of that Martyr's Family. D. N.

my Figure, I returned Answer, The Sick for that time would recover, but by means of a Surfeit would dangerously relapse within one Month; which he did, by eating of Trouts at Mr. Sand's House, near Leatherhead in Surrey. Then I went daily to visit him, Dr. Prideau despairing of his Life; but I said there was no Danger thereof, and that he would be sufficiently well in five or six Weeks, and so he was.

In 1644, I published *Merlinus Anglicus Junior* about April; I had given one Day the Copy thereof unto the then Mr. Whitlocke, who by Accident was reading thereof in the House of Commons; ere the Speaker took the Chair, one look'd upon it, and so did many, and got Copies thereof; which when I heard, I applied my self to John Booker to license it, for then he was Licenser of all Mathematical Books; I had, to my Knowledge, never seen him before; he wonder'd at the Book, made many impertinent Obliterations, framed many Objections, swore it was not possible to distinguish betwixt King and Parliament; at last licensed it according to his own Fancy; I delivered it unto the Printer, who being an Arch Presbyterian, had Five of the Ministry to inspect it, who could make nothing of it, but said it might be printed, for in that I meddled not with their Dagon. The first Impression was sold in less than one Week; when I presented some to the Members of Parliament, I complained of John Booker the Licenser, who had defaced my Book; they gave me Order forthwith to re-print it as I would, and let them know if any durst resist me in the re-printing, or adding what I thought fit; so the second time it came forth as I would have it.

I must confess, I now found my Scholar Humphreys's Words to be true concerning John Booker, whom at that time I found but moderately versed in Astrology; nor could he take the Circles of
Po-

Position of the Planets, until in that Year I instructed him; after my *Introduction* in 1647 became publick, he amended beyond measure, by Study partly, and partly upon Emulation to keep up his Fame and Reputation; so that since 1647, I have seen some Nativities by him very judiciously performed: When the Printer presented him with an *Introduction* of mine, as soon as they were forth of the Press; I wish, saith he, there was never another but this in *England*, conditionally I gave One hundred Pounds for this; after that time we were very great Friends to his dying Day.

In June 1644, I published *Supernatural Sight*; and, indeed, if I could have procured the dull Stationer to have been at Charges to have cut the Icon or Form of that prodigious Apparition, as I had drawn it forth, it would have given great Satisfaction; however, the Astrological Judgment thereupon had its full Event in every Particular.

That Year also I published the *White King's Prophecy*, of which there were sold in three Days Eighteen hundred, so that it was oft re-printed: I then made no Commentary upon it.

In that Year I printed the *Prophetical Merlin*, and had Eight Pounds for the Copy.

I had then no farther Intention to trouble the Press any more, but Sir Richard Napper having received one of Capt. Wharton's Almanacks for 1645, under the Name of *Naworth*, he came unto me: Now *Lilly*, you are met withal, see here what *Naworth* writes; the Words were, he called me an impudent senseless Fellow, and by Name *William Lilly*.

Before that Time, I was more Cavalier than Roundhead, and so taken notice of; but after that I engaged Body and Soul in the Cause of Parliament, but still with much Affection to his Majesty's Person and unto Monarchy, which I ever loved and approved beyond any Government whatsoever;

soever; and you will find in this Story many Passages of Civility which I did, and endeavoured to do, with the Hazard of my Life, for his Majesty: But God had ordered all his Affairs and Councils to have no Successes; as in the Sequel will appear.

To vindicate my Reputation, and to cry Quittance with *Naworth*, against whom I was highly incensed, to work I went again for *Anglicus* 1645; which as soon as finish'd I got to the Press, thinking every Day one Month till it was publick: I therein made use of the King's Nativity, and finding that his Ascendant was approaching to the Quadrature of *Mars*, about *June* 1645, I gave this unlucky Judgment; *If now we fight, a Victory stealeth upon us*; and so it did in *June* 1645, at *Naseby*, the most fatal Overthrow he ever had.

In this Year 1645, I published a Treatise called the *Starry Messenger*, with an Interpretation of three Suns seen in *London* 29 *May* 1644, being *Charles* the *Second* his Birth-Day: In that Book I also put forth an Astrological Judgment concerning the Effects of a *Solar Eclipse*, visible the 11th of *August* 1645. Two Days before its publishing, my Antagonist, Captain *Wharton*, having given his Astrological Judgment upon his Majesty's present March from *Oxford*; therein again fell foul against me and *John Booker*: Sir *Samuel Luke*, Governour of *Newport-Pannel*, had the Thing came to his Garrison from *Oxford*, which presently was presented unto my View. I had but Twelve Hours, or thereabout, to answer it, which I did with such Success as is incredible; and the Printer printed both the *March* and my Answer unto it, and produced it to Sight, with my *Starry Messenger*, which came forth and was made publick the very Day of the Parliament's great Victory obtained against his Majesty in Person at *Naseby*, under the Conduct of the Lord *Thomas Fairfax*.

That

That Book no sooner appeared, but within fourteen Days Complaint was made to the Committee of Examinations, *Miles Corbet* then being Chairman, my mortal Enemy, he who after was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for being one of the King's Judges; he grants his Warrant, and a Messenger to the Serjeant at Arms seizes my Person. As I was going to *Westminster* with the Messenger, I met Sir *Philip Stapleton*, Sir *Christopher Wray*, Mr. *Denzil Hollis*, Mr. *Robert Reynolds*, who, by great Fortune, had the *Starry Messenger* Sheet by Sheet from me as it came from the Press; they presently fell a smiling at me; '*Miles Corbet, Lilly* will punish thee soundly; but fear nothing, we will dine, and make haste to be at the Committee Time enough to do thy Business;' and so they most honourably performed; for they, as soon as they came, sat down, and put Mr. *Reynolds* purposely into the Chair, and I was called in; but *Corbet* being not there, they bid me withdraw until he came; which when he did, I was commanded to appear, and *Corbet* desired to give the Cause of my being in Restraint, and of the Committee's Order; Mr. *Reynolds* was purposely put into the Chair, and continued till my Business was over.

Corbet produced my *Anglicus* of 1645, and said there were many scandalous Passages therein against the Commissioners of the *Excise* in *London*; he produced one Passage, which being openly read by himself, the whole Committee adjudged it to signify the Errors of Sub-Officers, but had no relation to the Commissioners themselves, which I affirmatively maintained to be the true Meaning as the Committee declared.

Then *Corbet* found out another dangerous Place, as he thought, and the Words were thus in the printed Book—*In the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, will not the Excise pay the Soldiers?*

Corbet,

Corbet very ignorantly read, *will not the Eclipse pay Soldiers?* at which the Committee fell heartily to laugh at him, and so he became silent.

There was a great many Parliament-Men there ; the Chamber was full. Have you any more against Mr. *Lilly*? cry'd the Chairman.

Yes, saith the Solicitor for the Excise, since his *Starry Messenger* came forth we had our House burnt, and the Commissioners pull'd by their Cloaks in the *Exchange*. Pray, Sir, when was this, asked old Sir *Robert Pye*, that the House was burnt, and the Aldermen abused? It was in such a Week, saith he. Mr. *Lilly*, When came the Book forth? The very Day of *Naseby* Fight, answered Mr. *Reynolds*, nor needs he be ashamed of writing it; I had it daily as it came forth of the Press: It was then found the House to be burnt, and the Aldermen abused, twelve Days before the *Starry Messenger* came forth. What a lying Fellow art thou (saith Sir *Robert Pye*) to abuse us so! This he spoke to the Solicitor: Then stood up one *Bassell* a Merchant, he inveighed bitterly against me, being a Presbyterian, and would have had my Books burnt: You smell more of a Citizen than a Scholar, reply'd Mr. *Francis Drake*. I was ordered to withdraw, and by and by was called in, and acquainted the Committee did discharge me; but I cry'd with a loud Voice, I was under a Messenger; whereupon the Committee order'd him or the Serjeant at Arms not to take any Fees; Mr. *Reynolds* saying, Literate Men never pay any Fees.

But within one Week after, I was likely to have had worse Success, but that the before-named Gentlemen stoutly befriended me. In my Epistle of the *Starry Messenger*, I had been a little too plain with the Committee of *Leicestershire*; who thereof made Complaint unto Sir *Arthur Hazelrigg*, Knight for that County; he was a furious Person,
and

and made a Motion in the House of Commons against me, and the Business was committed to that Committee, whereof *Baron Rigby* was Chairman, a Day was assigned to hear the Matter; in the Morning whereof, as I passed by Mr. *Pullen's* Shop in *Paul's Church-yard*, *Pullen* bad God be with you, and named me by Name; Mr. *Selden* being there, and hearing my Name, gave Direction to call me unto him, where he acquaints me with *Hazelrigg's* Humour and Malice towards me, called for the *Starry Messenger*, and having read over the Words mentioning that Committee, he asked me how I would answer them? I related what I would have said, but he contradicted me, and acquainted me what to say, and how to answer: In the Afternoon I went to appear, but there was no Committee set, or would sit; for both Mr. *Reynolds* and Sir *Philip Stapleton*, and my other Friends, had fully acquainted *Baron Rigby* with the Business, and desired not to call upon me until they appeared; for the Matter and Charge intended against me was very frivolous, and only presented by a cholerick Person to please a Company of Clowns, meaning the Committee of *Leicester*: *Baron Rigby* said, if it were so he would not meddle with the Matter, but exceedingly desired to see me. Not long after he met Sir *Arthur*, and acquainting him what Friends appeared for me, said, I will then prosecute him no further.

All the ancient Astrologers of *England* were much startled and confounded at my manner of Writing, especially old Mr. *William Hodges*, who lived near *Wolverhampton* in *Staffordshire*, and many others who understood Astrology competently well, as they thought; *Hodges* swore I did more by Astrology than he could by the Crystal, and Use thereof, which indeed he understood as perfectly as any one in *England*; he was a great

Royalist, but could never hit any thing right for that Party, though he much desired it: He resolved Questions Astrologically; Nativities he meddled not with; in Things of other Nature, which required more Curiosity, he repaired to the Crystal: His Angels were *Raphael*, *Gabriel*, and *Uriel*; his Life answered not in Holiness and Sanctity to what it should, having to deal with those holy Angels: Being Contemporary with me, I shall relate what my Partner *John Scott*, the same *Scott* as is before-mentioned, affirmed of him. *John Scott* was a little skilful in Surgery and Physick, so was *Will. Hodges*, and had formerly been a School-master. *Scott* having some Occasions into *Staffordshire*, addressed himself for a Month or Six Weeks to *Hodges*, assisted him to dress his Patients, let Blood, &c. Being to return to *London*, he desired *Hodges* to shew him the Person and Feature of the Woman he should marry; *Hodges* carries him into a Field not far from his House, pulls out his Crystal, bids *Scott* set his Foot to his, and, after a while, wishes him to inspect the Crystal, and observe what he saw there; I see saith *Scott*, a ruddy complexion'd Wench in a red Wastcoat, drawing a Can of Beer; she must be your Wife, said *Hodges*: You are mistaken, Sir, said *Scott*, I am, so soon as I come to *London*, to marry a tall Gentlewoman in the *Old Bayly*. You must marry the red Wastcoat, said *Hodges*. *Scott* leaves the Country, comes up to *London*, finds his Gentlewoman married: Two Years after going into *Dover*, in his Return, he refreshed himself at an Inn in *Canterbury*, and as he came into the Hall, or first Room thereof, he mistook the Room, and went into the Buttery, where he espied a Maid, described by *Hodges*, as before-said, drawing a Can of Beer, &c. He then more narrowly viewing her Person and Habit, found her, in all Parts, to be the same *Hodges* had described; after which
he

he became a Tutor unto her, and was married unto her; which Woman I have often seen. This *Scott* related unto me several times, being a very honest Person, and made great Conscience of what he spoke. Another Story of him is as followeth, which I had related from a Person which well knew the Truth of it.

A Neighbour Gentleman of *Hodges* lost his Horse, who having *Hodges's* Advice for Recovery of him, did again obtain him. Some Years after, in a Frolick, he thought to abuse him, acquainting a Neighbour therewith, *viz.* That he had formerly lost a Horse, went to *Hodges*, recovered him again, but saith it was by chance; I might have had him without going unto him: Come, let's go, I will now put a Trick upon him; I will leave some Boy or other at the Town's-End with my Horse, and then go to *Hodges* and enquire for him. He did so, gave his Horse to a Youth, with Orders to walk him till he returned: Away he goes with his Friend, salutes Mr. *Hodges*, thanks him for his former Courtesy, and now desires the like, having lost a Horse very lately. *Hodges*, after some time of pausing, said; Sir, your Horse is lost, and never to be recovered. I thought what Skill you had, replies the Gallant, my Horse is walking in a Lane at the Town's-End. With that *Hodges* swore (as he was too much given unto that Vice) Your Horse is gone, and you will never have him again. The Gentleman departed in great Derision of *Hodges*, and went where he left his Horse; when he came there, he found the Boy fast asleep upon the Ground, the Horse gone, the Boy's Arm in the Bridle.

He returns again to *Hodges*, desiring his Aid, being sorry for his former Abuse; old *Will.* swore like a Devil, Be gone, be gone; Go look your Horse. This Business ended not so; for the malicious Man brought *Hodges* into the Star-Chamber.

ber, bound him over to the Assizes, put *Hodges* to great Expences, but, by means of the Lord *Dudley*, if I remember aright, or some other Person thereabouts, he overcame the Gentleman, and was acquitted.

Besides this, a Gentlewoman of my Acquaintance, and of Credit, in *Leicestershire*, having lost a Pillion-Cloth, a very new one, went to desire his Judgment. He ordered her such a Day to attend at *Mountsorrel* in *Leicestershire*, and about 12 a Clock she should see her Pillion-Cloth upon a Horse and a Woman upon it. My Friend attended the Hour and Place; it being Cold, she must needs warm her self well, and then enquired if any Passengers had lately gone by the Inn? Unto whom Answer was made, There passed by whilst she was at the Fire, about half an Hour before, a Man, and a Woman behind him, on Horse-back; inquiring of what Colour the Pillion-Cloth was of, it was answered, directly of the Colour my Friend's was of: They pursued, but too late.

In those Times, there lived one *William Marsh* in *Dunstable*, a Man of godly Life and upright Conversation; a Recusant; by Astrology he resolved Thievish Questions with great Success; that was his utmost sole Practice. He was many times in Trouble; but by Dr. *Napper's* Interest with the Earl of *Bolingbroke*, Lord *Wentworth*, after Earl of *Cleveland*, he still continued his Practice, the said Earl not permitting any Justice of Peace to vex him.

This Man had only two Books, *Guido* and *Haly* bound together: He had so mumbled and tumbled the Leaves of both, that half one Side of every Leaf was torn even to the Middle. I was familiar with him for many Years: He died about 1647.

A Word or two of Dr. *Napper*, who lived at *Great Lindford* in *Buckinghamshire*, was Parson, and had

had the Advowson thereof : He descended of worshipful Parents, and this you must believe, for when Dr. *Napper's* Brother, Sir *Robert Napper*, a *Turkey* Merchant, was to be made a Baronet in King *James's* Reign, there was some Dispute whether he could prove himself a Gentleman for three or more Descents. By my Saul, faith King *James*, I will certify for *Napper*, that he is of above 300 Years standing in his Family, all of them, by my Saul, Gentlemen, &c. However, their Family came into *England* in King *Henry* the Eighth's Time : The Parson was Master of Arts ; but whether Doctorated by Degree or Courtesy, because of his Profession, I know not : Miscarrying one Day in the Pulpit, he never after used it, but all his Life-time kept in his House some excellent Scholar or other to officiate for him, with Allowance of a good Salary : He out-went *Forman* in Physick and Holiness of Life ; cured the Falling-Sickness perfectly by constellated Rings, some Diseases by Amulets, &c.

A Maid was much afflicted with the Falling-Sickness, whose Parents applied themselves unto him for Cure ; he framed her a constellated Ring, upon wearing whereof, she recovered perfectly : Her Parents acquainted some scrupulous Divines with the Cure of their Daughter : The Cure is done by Inchantment, say they ; Cast away the Ring, it's Diabolical ; God cannot bless you, if you do not cast the Ring away. The Ring was cast into the Well, whereupon the Maid became Epileptical as formerly, and endured much Misery for a long time. At last her Parents cleansed the Well, and recovered the Ring again ; the Maid wore it, and her Fits took her no more. In this Condition she was one Year or two ; which the Puritan Ministers there adjoining hearing, never left off, till they procured her Parents to cast the Ring quite away ; which done, the Fits returned

in such Violence, that they were enforced to apply to the Doctor again, relating at large the whole Story, humbly imploring his once more Assistance; but he could not be procured to do any thing, only said, Those who despised God's Mercies, were not capable or worthy of enjoying them.

I was with him in 1632, or 1633, upon Occasion; he had me up into his Library, being excellently furnished with very choice Books; there he prayed almost one Hour; he invoked several Angels in his Prayer, viz. (a) *Michael, Gabriel, Raphael, Uriel, &c.* we parted.

He instructed many Ministers in Astrology, would lend them whole Cloak-bags of Books; protected them from Harm and Violence, by means of his Power with the Earl of (b) *Bolingbroke*. He would confess my Master *Evans* knew more than himself in some Things; and some Time before he died, he got his Cousin Sir *Richard* to set a Figure to see when he should die; being brought him; *Well, he said, the old Man will live this Winter, but in the Spring he will die; Welcome Lord Jesus, thy Will be done.* He had many Enemies; *Cotta*, Doctor of Physick in *Northampton*, wrote a sharp Book of Witchcraft, wherein, obliquely, he bitterly inveighed against the Doctor.

In 1646, I printed a Collection of Prophecies, with the Explanation and Verification of *Aquila*, or the White King's Prophecy; as also the Nativities of Bishop *Laud* and *Thomas* Earl of *Strafford*, and a most learned Speech by him intended to have been spoke upon the Scaffold. In this Year 1646, after a great Consideration, and many Impor-

(a) *The Collect read on Michaelmas day, seems to allow of Praying to Angels. At some Times, upon great Occasions, he had Conference with Michael, but very rarely.*

(b) *Lord Wentworth, after Earl of Cleveland.*

tunities

tunities, I began to fix upon Thoughts of an *Introduction unto Astrology*, which was very much wanting, and as earnestly long'd for by many Persons of Quality; something also much occasioned and hastened the Impression, *viz.* the malevolent barking of Presbyterian Ministers in their weekly Sermons, reviling the Professors thereof, and my self particularly by Name.

Secondly, I thought it a Duty incumbent upon me, to satisfy the whole Kingdom of the Lawfulness thereof, by framing a plain and easy Method for any Person but of indifferent Capacity to learn the Art, and instruct himself therein, without any other Master than my *Introduction*; by which means, when many understood it, I should have more Partners and Assistants to contradict all and every Antagonist.

Thirdly, I found it best as unto Point of Time, because many of the Soldiers were wholly for it, and many of the Independant Party; and I had abundance of worthy Men in the House of Commons, my assured Friends, no Lovers of Presbytery, which then were in great Esteem, and able to protect the Art; for should the Presbyterian Party have prevailed, as they thought of nothing less than to be Lords of all, I knew well they would have silenced my Pen annually, and committed the *Introduction* unto everlasting Silence.

Fourthly, I had something of Conscience touch'd my Spirit, and much elevated my Conceptions, believing God had not bestowed those Abilities upon me, to bury them under a Bushel; for tho' my Education was very mean, yet, by my continual Industry, and God's great Mercy, I found my self capable to go forward with the Work, and to commit the Issue thereof unto Divine Providence.

I had a hard Task in hand to begin the first Part hereof, and much Labour I underwent to methodize it as it is.

I ingeniously confesse unto you (Arts great *Mecenas*, noble Esquire *Ashmole*,) no mortal Man had any Share in the Composition or ordering of the first Part thereof, but my one only self. You are a Person of great Reading, yet I well know you never found the least Trace thereof in any Author yet extant.

In composing, contriving, ordering, and framing thereof (*viz.* the first Part) a great Part of that Year was spent. I again perused all, or most, Authors I had, sometimes adding, at other times diminishing, until at last I thought it worthy of the Press. When I came to frame the Second Part thereof, having formerly collected out of many Manuscripts, and exchanged Rules with the most able Professors I had Acquaintance with, in transcribing those Papers for Impression, I found, upon a strict Inquisition, those Rules were, for the most part, defective; so that once more I had now a difficult Labour to correct their Deficiency, to new rectify them according to Art; and lastly, considering the Multiplicity of daily Questions propounded unto me, it was as hard a Labour as might be to transcribe the Papers themselves with my own Hand. The Desire I had to benefit Posterity and my Country, at last overcame all Difficulties; so that what I could not do in one Year, I perfected early the next Year, 1647; and then in that Year, *viz.* 1647, I finished the Third Book of (a) *Nativities*, (b) during the composing whereof, for seven whole Weeks, I was shut up of the Plague, burying in that Time two Maid-Servants thereof; yet towards November that Year, the Introduction, called by the Name of *Christian Astrology*

(a) *The Nams of the Person whose Nativity is directed and judged, is Mr. Thompson, whose Father had been some time an Inn-keeper at the White-hart in Newark.*

(b) *I devised the Forms and Fashions of the several Schemes.* E. A. was

was made publick. There being, in those Times, some smart Difference between the Army and the Parliament, the Head-Quarters of the Army were at *Windsor*, whither I was carried with a Coach and Four Horses, and *John Booker* with me. We were welcome thither, and feasted in a Garden where General *Fairfax* lodged. We were brought to the General, who bid us kindly welcome to *Windsor*; and, in Effect, said thus much;

‘ That God had blessed the Army with many signal Victories, and yet their Work was not finished. He hoped God would go along with them until his Work was done. They fought not themselves, but the Welfare and Tranquillity of the good People, and whole Nation; and, for that End, were resolved to sacrifice both their Lives and their own Fortunes. As for the Art we study’d, he hoped it was lawful and agreeable to God’s Word: He understood it not; but doubted not but we both feared God; and therefore had a good Opinion of us both. Unto his Speech I presently made this Reply:

‘ My Lord, I am glad to see you here at this Time.

‘ Certainly, both the People of God, and all others of this Nation, are very sensible of God’s Mercy, Love, and Favour, unto them, in directing the Parliament to nominate and elect you General of their Armies, a Person so Religious, so Valiant.

‘ The several unexpected Victories obtained under your Excellency’s Conduct, will eternize the same unto all Posterity.

‘ We are confident of God’s going along with you, and your Army, until the great Work for which he ordained you both, is fully perfected, which we hope will be the Conquering and Subversion of Your’s and the Parliament’s Enemies, and then a quiet Settlement and firm Peace over

'all the Nation, unto God's Glory, and full Satisfaction of tender Consciences.

'Sir, As for our selves, we trust in God; and, as Christians, believe in him. We do not study any Art but what is lawful, and consonant to the Scriptures, Fathers, and Antiquity; which we humbly desire you to believe, &c.

This ended, we departed, and went to visit Mr. *Peters* the Minister, who lodged in the Castle, whom we found reading an idle Pamphlet come from *London* that Morning. *Lilly*, thou art herein, says he. Are not you there also? I reply'd. Yes, that I am, quoth he. — The Words concerning me, were these:

*From th' Oracles of the Sibyls so silly,
The curst Predictions of William Lilly,
And Dr. Sybbald's Schoole-lane Philly,*

Good Lord, deliver me.

After much Conference with *Hugh Peters*, and some private Discourse betwixt us two, not to be divulged, we parted, and so came back to *London*.

King *Charles* the First, in the Year 1646, April 27, went unto the *Scots*, then in this Nation. Many desired my Judgment, in the Time of his Absence, to discover the Way he might be taken; which I would never be drawn unto, or give any Direction concerning his Person.

There were many lewd *Mercurys* printed both in *London* and *Oxford*, wherein I was sufficiently abused, in this Year 1646. I had then my Ascendant ad ☐ ♀, and ☾ ad proprium. The Presbyterians were, in their Pulpits, as merciless as the Cavaliers in their Pamphlets.

About this Time, the most famous Mathematician of all Europe, (a) Mr. *William Oughtred*, Parson

(a) This Gentleman I was very well acquainted with, having lived at the House over-against his, at *Aldbury* in *Surrey*, three or four Years. E. A.

of *Aldbury* in *Surrey*) was in Danger of Sequestration by the Committee of or for plunder'd Ministers; (*Ambo-dexters* they were;) several inconsiderable Articles were deposed and sworn against him, material enough to have sequester'd him, but that, upon his Day of hearing, I applied my self to Sir *Bolstrode Whitlock*, and all my own old Friends, who in such Numbers appeared in his Behalf, that though the Chair-man and many other Presbyterian Members were stiff against him, yet he was cleared by the major Number: The Truth is, he had a considerable Parsonage, and that only was enough to sequester any moderate Judgment: He was also well known to affect His Majesty. In these Times many worthy Ministers lost their Livings or Benefices, for not complying with the Three-penny Directory. Had you seen (O noble Esquire) what pitiful Ideots were preferred into sequestrated Church-Benefices, you would have been grieved in your Soul; but when they came before the Classis of Divines, could those Simpletons but only say, they were converted by hearing such a Sermon, such a Lecture, of that Godly Man *Hugh Peters*, *Stephen Marshall*, or any of that Gang, he was presently admitted.

In 1647, I published the *World's Catastrophe*, the Prophecies of *Ambrose Merlin*, with the Key wherewith to unlock those abstruse Prophecies; also *Trithemius* of the Government of the World by the presiding Angels; these came forth all in one Book.

The two first were exquisitely translated by your self, (most Learned Sir) as I do ingeniously acknowledge in my Epistle unto the Reader, with a true Character of the Worth and admirable Parts, unto which I refer any that do desire to read you perfectly delineated: I was once resolved to have continued *Trithemius* for some succeeding Years, but Multiplicity of Employment impeded me

me, the Study required, in that kind of Learning, must be sedentary, of great Reading, sound Judgment, which no Man can accomplish except he wholly retire, use Prayer, and accompany himself with Angelical Consorts.

His Majesty *Charles* the First, having entrusted the *Scots* with his Person, was, for Money, delivered into the Hands of the *English* Parliament, and, by several Removals, was had to *Hampton-Court* about *July* or *August* 1647; for he was there, and at that Time when my House was visited with the Plague. He was desirous to escape from the Soldiery, and to obscure himself for some time near *London*, the Citizens whereof began now to be unruly, and alienated in Affection from the Parliament, inclining wholly to his Majesty, and very averse to the Army. His Majesty was well informed of all this, and thought to make good Use hereof; besides, the Army and Parliament were at some odds, who should be Masters. Upon the King's Intention to escape, and with his Consent, *Madam Whorewood* (whom you knew very well, worthy Esquire) came to receive my Judgment, viz. In what Quarter of this Nation he might be most safe, and not to be discovered until himself pleased.

When she came to my Door, I told her I would not let her come into my House, for I buried a Maid-Servant of the Plague very lately. I fear not the Plague, but the Pox, quoth she; so up we went. After Erection of my Figure, I told her, About Twenty Miles (or thereabouts) from *London*, and in *Essex*, I was certain he might continue undiscovered. She liked my Judgment very well; and, being her self of a sharp Judgment, remember'd a Place in *Essex* about that Distance, where was an excellent House, and all Conveniences for his Reception. Away she went, early next Morning, unto *Hampton-Court*, to acquaint his Majesty

Majesty ; but see the Misfortune : He, either guided by his own approaching hard Fate, or misguided by (a) *Ashburnham*, went away in the Night-time West-ward, and surrendered himself to *Hammond*, in the Isle of *Wight*.

Whilst his Majesty was at *Hampton-Court*, Alderman *Adams* sent his Majesty One Thousand Pounds in Gold, Five Hundred whereof he gave to *Madam Whorewood*. I believe I had Twenty Pieces of that very Gold for my Share.

I have something more to write of *Charles* the First his Misfortunes, wherein I was concerned ; the Matter happened in 1648, but I thought good to insert it here, having after this no more Occasion to mention him.

His Majesty being in *Carisbrook-Castle* in the Isle of *Wight*, the *Kentish* Men, in great Numbers, rose in Arms and joined with the Lord *Goring* ; a considerable Number of the best Ships revolted from the Parliament ; the Citizens of *London* were forward to rise against the Parliament, his Majesty laid his Design to escape out of Prison, by sawing the Iron Bars of his Chamber Window, a small Ship was provided, and anchored not far from the Castle to bring him into *Suffex* ; Horses were provided ready to carry him through *Suffex* into *Kent*, that so he might be at the Head of the Army in *Kent*, and from thence to march immediately to *London*, where Thousands then would have armed for him : The Lady *Whorewood* came to me, acquaints me herewith, I got *G. Farmer* (who was a most ingenious Lock-smith, and dwelt in *Bow-Lane*) to make a Saw to cut the Iron Bars in fun-

(a) This *Ashburnham* was turned out of the House of Commons the 3d of Novemb. 1667, for taking a Bribe of 500 l. of the Merchants. I was informed hereof 26 Novemb. 1667.

der, I mean to saw them, and *Aqua Fortis* besides : His Majesty in a small time did his Work ; the Bars gave Liberty for him to go out ; he was out with his Body till he came to his Breast ; but then his Heart failing, he proceeded no farther when this was discovered ; as soon after it was, he was narrowly looked after, and no Opportunity after that could be devised to enlarge him. About September the Parliament sent their Commissioners with Propositions unto him into the Isle of *Wight*, the Lord *William Sea* being one ; the Lady *Whorewood* comes again unto me from him or by his Consent, to be directed : After perusal of my Figure, I told her the Commissioners would be there such a Day ; I elected a Day and Hour when to receive the Commissioners and Propositions ; and as soon as the Propositions were read, to sign them, and make haste with all speed to come up with the Commissioners to *London*, the Army being then far distant from *London*, and the City enraged stoutly against them, he promised he would so do : That Night the Commissioners came, and old *Sea* and his Majesty had private Conference till one in the Morning ; the King acquaints *Sea* with his Intention, who clearly dissuaded him from signing the Propositions, telling him they were not fit for him to sign, that he had many Friends in the House of Lords, and some in the House of Commons, that he would procure more, and then they would frame more easie Propositions. This Flattery of this unfortunate Lord, occasioned his Majesty to wave the Advice I and some others that wished his Prosperity had given, in Expectation of that which afterwards could never be gained. The Army having some Notice hereof from one of the Commissioners, who had an Eye upon old *Sea*, hastened unto *London*, and made the Citizens very quiet ; and besides the Parliament and Army kept

kept a better Correspondency afterwards with each other.

Whilst the King was at *Windsor-Castle*, one Day walking upon the Leads there, he looked upon Captain *Wharton's Almanack*; my Book, saith he, speaks well as to the Weather: One *William Allen* standing by; what, saith he, saith his Antagonist, Mr. *Lilly*? I do not care for *Lilly*, said his Majesty, he hath been always against me, and became a little bitter in his Expressions; Sir, said *Allen*, the Man is an honest Man, and writes but what his Art informs him; I believe it, said his Majesty, and that *Lilly* understands Astrology as well as any Man in *Europe*. Exit, *Rex Carolus*.

In 1648 I published a Treatise of the three Suns, seen the Winter preceding; as also an Astrological Judgment upon a Conjunction of *Saturn* and *Mars* 28 June, in 11 Degrees 8 Minutes of *Gemini*.

I commend unto your perusal that Book and the *Prophetical Merlin*, which seriously considered, (Oh worthy Esquire) will more instruct your Judgment (*De generalibus contingentibus Mundi*) than all the Authors you yet ever met with.

In this Year, for very great Considerations, the Counsel of State gave me in Money 50 l. and a Pension of 100 l. per Annum, which for two Years I receiv'd, but no more, upon some Discontents I after would not or did require it; the Cause moving them was this; they could get no Intelligence out of *France*, although they had several Agents there for that purpose. I had formerly Acquaintance with a Secular Priest, at this time Confessor to one of the Secretaries; unto him I wrote, and by that Means had perfect Knowledge of the chiefest Concernments of *France*, at which they admired; but I never yet, until this Day, revealed the Name of the Person.

One Occasion why I diserted that Employment was, because *Scott*, who had 800 *l. per Annum* for Intelligence, would not contribute any Occasion to gratifie my Friend: And another thing was, I received some Affront from *Gualter Frost* their Secretary, one that was a Principal Minister belonging to the Council of State; *Scott* was ever my Enemy, the other Knave died of a Gangrene in his Arm suddenly after.

In 1648 and 1649, that I might encourage young Students in Astrology, I publickly read over the first Part of my Introduction, wherein there are many things contained, not easily to be understood.

And now we are entred into the Year 1649: his Majesty being at *St. James's House*, in *January* of that Year, I begun its Observations thus:

" I am serious, I beg and expect Justice; either
" Fear or Shame begins to question Offenders.

" The lofty Cedars begin to divine a thunder-
" ing Hurricane is at Hand; God elevates Men
" contemptible.

" Our Demigods are sensible we begin to dis-
" like their Actions very much in *London*, more
" in the Country.

" Blessed be God, who encourages his Servants,
" makes them valiant, and of undaunted Spirits,
" to go on with his Decrees: upon a sudden great
" Expectations arise, and Men generally believe
" a quiet and calm Time draws nigh.

In *Christmas Holy-days*, the Lord *Gray* of *Grooby* and *Hugh Peters*, sent for me to *Somerset-House*, with Directions to bring them two of my Almanacks,—I did so; *Peters* and he read *January's* Observations.

If we are not Fools and Knaves, saith he, we shall do Justice, then they whisper'd; I understood not their Meaning till his Majesty was be-headed; they applied what I wrote of Justice, to
be

be understood of his Majesty, which was contrary to my Intention; for *Jupiter*, the first Day of *January*, became direct; and *Libra* is a Sign signifying Justice; I implored for Justice generally upon such as had cheated in their Places, being Treasurers, and such like Officers. I had not then heard the least Intimation of bringing the King unto Tryal, and yet the first Day thereof I was casually there, it being upon a *Saturday*; for going to *Westminster* every *Saturday* in the Afternoon, in these Times, at *White-Hall* I casually met *Peters*; Come, Lilly, wilt thou go hear the King Try'd? When, said I, Now, just now; go with me: I did so, and was permitted by the Guard of Soldiers to pass up to the *King's-Bench*; within one Quarter of an Hour came the Judges, presently his Majesty, who spoke excellently well, and Majestically, without Impediment in the least when he spoke. I saw the Silver Top of his Staff unexpectedly fall to the Ground, which was took up by Mr. *Rushworth*; but when I heard *Bradshaw* the Judge say to his Majesty.

Sir, Instead of answering the Court, you interrogate their Power, which becomes not one in your Condition.

These Words pierced my Heart and Soul, to hear a Subject thus audaciously to reprehend his Sovereign, who ever and anon replied with great Magnanimity and Prudence.

After that his Majesty was beheaded, the Parliament for some Years affected nothing either for the publick Peace or Tranquillity of the Nation, or settling Religion as they had formerly promised. The Interval of Time betwixt his Majesty's Death and *Oliver Cromwell's* displacing them, was wholly consumed in Voting for themselves, and bringing their own Relations to be Members of Parliament, thinking to make a Trade thereof.

The Week, or three or four Days before his Majesty's Beheading, one Major Sydenham, who had Commands in *Scotland*, came to take his leave of me, and told me the King was to be put to death, which I was not willing to believe, and said, I could not be perswaded the Parliament could find any Englishman so barbarous, that would do that foul Action; rather (saith he) than they should want such a Man, these Arms of mine should do it. He went presently after into *Scotland*, and upon the first Engagement against them, was slain, and his Body miserably cut and mangled.

In 1651 I published *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, and in the latter end thereof some Hieroglyphicks of my own, compos'd at spare time, by the accult Learning, many of those Types having Representations of what should from thence succeed in *England*, and have since had Verification.

I had not that Learning from Books, or any Manuscript I ever yet met withal, it is reduced from a Cabal lodging in Astrology, but so mysterious and difficult to be attained, that I have not yet been acquainted with any who had that Knowledge. I will say no more thereof, but that the Asterisms and Signs and Constellations give greatest Light thereunto.

During *Bradshaw's* being President of the Council of State, it was my Happiness to procure Captain *Wharton* his Liberty, which when *Bradshaw* understood, said I will be an Enemy to *Lilly*, if ever he come before me: Sir *Bolstrode Whitlock* broke the Ice first of all on behalf of Captain *Wharton*, after him the Committee, unto whom his Offence had been committed, spoke for him, and said he might well be bailed or enlarged; I had spoken to the Committee the morning of his Delivery, who thereupon were so civil unto him, especially Sir *William Ermin* of *Lincolnshire*, who at first wondred I

ap-

appear'd not against him ; but upon my humble Request, my long continued Antagonist was enlarged and had his Liberty.

In 1651 I purchased 110*l. per Annum* in Fee Farm Rents for One Thousand and Thirty Pounds; I paid all in ready Money; but when his Majesty K. Charles the Second, 1660, was restored, I lost it all again, and it returned to the right Owner; the Loss thereof never afflicted me, for I have ever reduced my Mind according to my Fortune. I was drawn in by several Persons to make that simple Purchase. The Year I bought it, I had my Ascendant directed into a *Trine of Jupiter* first, and in the same Year into the *Cauda Draconis* — my Fortune into a Quadrant of *Mercury*. When Colchester was besieged, John Booker and my self were sent for, where we encouraged the Soldiers, assuring them the Town would very shortly be surrendered, as indeed it was: I would willingly have obtained Leave to enter the Town, to have informed Sir Charles Lucas, whom I well knew, with the Condition of Affairs as they then stood, he being deluded by false Intelligence; at that time my Scholar Humfreys was therein, who many times deluded the Governor with Expectation of Relief; but failing very many times with his Lyes, at last he had the *Bastinado*, was put in Prison, and inforced to become a Soldier; and well it was he escaped so.—During my being there, the Steeple of St. Mary's Church was much battered by two Cannons purposely placed; I was there one Day about Three of the Clock in the Afternoon, talking with the Canoneer, when presently he desired us to look to our selves, for he perceived by his Prospective-Glass there was a Piece charged in the Castle against his Work, and ready to be discharged; I ran for haste under an old Ash-tree, and immediately the Cannon-bullet came hissing quite over us; no Danger now, saith the Gunner, but be-

begone, for there are five more charging, which was true ; for Two Hours after those Cannons were discharged, and unluckily killed our Canoeer and *Montrofs*. I came the next Morning and saw the Blood of the two poor Men lie upon the Planks ; we were well entertained at the Head Quarters, and after two whole Days abiding there, came for *London*.

But we prosecute our Story again, and say that in the Year 1652 I purchased my House and some Lands in *Hersham*, in the Parish of *Walton* upon *Thames*, in the County of *Surrey*, where I now live ; intending by the Blessing of God, when I found it convenient, to retire into the Country, there to end my Days in Peace and Tranquillity ; for in *London* my Practice was such, I had none or very little Time afforded me to serve God, who had been so gracious unto me. The Purchase of the House and Lands, and Building, stood me in Nine Hundred and Fifty Pounds Sterling, which I have very much augmented.

The Parliament now grows odious unto all good Men, the Members whereof became insufferable in their Pride, Covetousness, Self ends, Laziness, minding nothing but how to enrich themselves ; much Heart-burning now arose betwixt the Presbyterian and Independant, the latter siding with the Army, betwixt whose two Judgments there was no *Medium* : Now came up, or first appeared, that monstrous People called Ranters, and many other Novel Opinions in themselves heretical and scandalous, were countenanced by Members of Parliament, many whereof were of the same Judgment ; Justice was neglected, Vice countenanced, all Care of the common Good laid aside ; every Judgment almost groaned under the heavy Burthen they then suffered ; the Army neglected ; the City of *London* scorned the Ministry, especially those who were orthodox and serious, honest

or vertuous, had not Countenance ; my Soul began to loath the very Name of a Parliament, or Parliament-Men ; there yet remained in the House very able, judicious, and worthy Patriots ; but they, by their Silence, only served themselves, all was carried on by a Rabble of Dunces, who being the greater Number, voted what seemed best to their *non* intelligent Fancies.

In this Year I published *Annus Tenebrosus*, which Book I did not so entitle, because of the great Obscurity of the Solar Eclipse, by so many pratted of to no purpose, but because of those under-hand and clandestine Counsels held in *England* by the Soldiery, of which I would never, but in Generals, give any Knowledge unto any Parliament Man. I had wrote publickly in 1650, that the Parliament should not continue, but a New Government should arise, &c.

In my next Year's *Anglicus*, upon rational Grounds in Astrology, I was so bold as to aver therein, that the Parliament stood upon a tottering Foundation, and that the Commonalty and Soldiery would joyn together against them.

My *Anglicus* was for a whole Week every Day in the Parliament House, peeped into by the Presbyterians, one disliking this Sentence, another finds another Fault, others misliked the whole ; so in the End a Motion was made, that *Anglicus* should be inspected by the Committee for plundred Ministers ; which being done, they were to return them to the House, *viz.* report its Errors.

A Messenger attached me by a Warrant from that Committee ; I had private notice ere the Messenger came, and hasted unto Mr. Speaker *Lenthall*, ever my Friend ; he was exceeding glad to see me, told me what was done ; called for *Anglicus*, marked the Passages which tormented the Presbyterians so highly ; I presently sent for Mr. *Warren* the

the Printer, an assured Cavalier, obliterated what was most offensive, put in other more significant Words, and desired only to have six amended against next Morning, which very honestly he brought me. I told him my Design was to deny the Book found fault with, to own only the Six Books. I told him, I doubted he would be examined. 'Hang them, said he, they are all Rogues, I'll swear my self to the Devil ere they shall have an Advantage against you by my Oath.

The Day after, I appeared before the Committee, being 36 in Number that Day, whereas it was observed, at other Times, it was very difficult to get Five of them together. At first they shewed me the true *Anglicus*, and asked if I wrote and printed it. I took the Book and inspected it very heedfully; and, when I had done so, said thus;

'This is none of my Book, some malicious Presbyterian hath wrote it, who are my mortal Enemies; I disown it.' The Committee look'd upon one another like distracted Men, not imagining what I presently did; for I presently pull'd out of my Pocket six Books, and said, 'These I own, the others are Counterfeits, published purposely to ruin me.' The Committee were now more vexed than before: Not one Word was spoke a good while; at last, many of them, or the greatest Number of them, were of Opinion to imprison me: Some were for *Newgate*, others for the *Gate-house*; but then one *Brown* of *Suffex*, called the *Presbyterian Beadle*, whom the Company of *Stationers* had bribed to be my Friend, by giving him a new Book of *Martyrs*; he, I say, preached unto the Committee this Doctrine, That neither *Newgate* or the *Gate-house* were Prisons unto which at any time the Parliament sent Prisoners; it was most convenient for the Serjeant at Arms to take me in Custody.

Mr. Stric-

Mr. Strickland, who had for many Years been the Parliament's Ambassador or Agent in *Holland*, when he saw how they inclined, spoke thus:

' I came purposely into the Committee this Day to see the Man who is so famous in those Parts where I have so long continued; I assure you his Name is famous all over *Europe*: I come to do him Justice. A Book is produced by us, and said to be his; He denies it; We have not proved it, yet will commit him. Truly this is great Injustice. It's likely he will write next Year, and acquaint the whole World with our Injustice; and so well he may. It's my Opinion, first to prove the Book to be his, ere he be committed.

Another old Friend of mine, Mr. R. spoke thus;

' You do not know the many Services this Man hath done for the Parliament these many Years, or how many times, in our greatest Distresses, we applying unto him, he hath refreshed our languishing Expectations; he never failed us of Comfort in our most unhappy Distresses. I assure you his Writings have kept up the Spirits both of the Soldiery, the honest People of this Nation, and many of us Parliament-men; and now at last, for a slip of his Pen (if it were his) to be thus violent against him; I must tell you, I fear the Consequence urged out of the Book will prove effectually true. It's my Counsel, to admonish him hereafter to be more wary, and for the present to dismiss him.

Notwithstanding any thing that was spoken on my Behalf, I was ordered to stand committed to the Serjeant at Arms. The Messenger attached my Person, said I was his Prisoner; As he was carrying me away, he was called to bring me again. *Oliver Cromwell*, Lieutenant-General of the Army, having never seen me, caused me to be produced again, where he stedfastly beheld me for
a good

a good Space, and then I went with the Messenger ; but instantly a young Clerk of that Committee asks the Messenger what he did with me, Where's the Warrant ? until that is signed you cannot seize Mr. *Lilly*, or shall : Will you have an Action of false Imprisonment against you ? So I escaped that Night, but next Day obeyed the Warrant. That Night *Oliver Cromwell* went to Mr. R. my Friend, and said, What never a Man to take *Lilly's* Cause in hand but your self ? None to take his Part but you ? He shall not be long there. *Hugh Peters* spoke much in my Behalf to the Committee ; but they were resolved to lodge me in the Serjeant's Custody. One *Millington*, a drunken Member, was much my Enemy ; and so was *Cawley* and *Chichester*, a deformed Fellow, unto whom I had done several Courtesies.

First Thirteen Days I was a Prisoner ; and tho' every Day of the Committees Sitting I had a Petition to deliver, yet so many churlish Presbyterians still appeared, I could not get it accepted. The last Day of the Thirteen, Mr. *Joseph Ash* was made Chair-man, unto whom my Cause being related, he took my Petition, and said I should be bailed in despite of them all, but desired I would procure as many Friends as I could to be there. Sir *Arthur Hazelrigg*, and Major *Salloway*, a Person of excellent Parts, appeared for me, and many now of my old Friends came in. After two whole Hours arguing of my Cause by Sir *Arthur* and Major *Salloway*, and other Friends, the Matter came to this Point ; I should be bailed, and a Committee nominated to examine the Printer. The Order of the Committee being brought afterwards to him who should be Chair-man, he sent me Word, Do what I would, he would see all the Knaves hanged, ere he would examine the Printer. This is the Truth of the Story.

The 16th of February 165 $\frac{1}{2}$, my second Wife died; for whose Death I shed no Tears. I had 500*l.* with her as a Portion, but she and her poor Relations spent me 1000*l.* *Gloria Patri, & Filio, & Spiritui Sancto : sicut erat in principio & nunc & semper, & in sæcula sæculorum :* For the 20th of April 1653, these Enemies of mine, viz. Parliament-men, were turned out of Doors by Oliver Cromwell. A German Doctor of Physick being then in London, sent me this Paper :

*Strophe Alcaica : Generoso Domino Gulielmo Lillio
Astrologo, de dissoluto nuper Parlamento.*

*Quod calculasti Sydere prævio,
Miles peregit numine conscio,
Gentis videmus nunc Senatum,
Marte Togæ; gravi levatum.*

In the Time of my Imprisonment, Mr. Rushworth came to visit me, and told me, the Army would do as much as I had predicted unto the Parliament.

In October 1654, I married the third Wife, who is signified in my Nativity by *Jupiter in Libra :* And she is so totally in her Conditions, to my great Comfort.

In 1655, I was indicted at *Hicks's-Hall* by a half-witted young Woman : Three several Sessions she was neglected, and the Jury cast forth her Bill; but the fourth time, they found it against me; I put in Bail to traverse the Indictment. The Cause of the Indictment was, For that I had given Judgment upon stolen Goods, and received 2*s.* 6*d.*— And this was said to be contrary unto an Act in King *James's* Time made.

This mad Woman was put upon this Action against me by two Ministers, who had framed for her a very ingenious Speech, which she could

speaking without Book, as she did the Day of hearing the Traverse. She produced one Woman, who told the Court, a Son of her's was run from her; that being in much Affliction of Mind for her Loss, she repaired unto me to know what was become of him; that I told her he was gone for the *Barbadoes*, and she would hear of him within 13 Days; which, she said, she did.

A Second Woman made Oath, That her Husband being wanting two Years, she repaired to me for Advice: That I told her he was in *Ireland*, and would be at Home such a Time; and, said she, he did come home accordingly.

I owned the taking of Half-a-Crown for my Judgment of the Theft; but said, I gave no other Judgment, but that the Goods would not be recovered, being that was all which was required of me; the Party, before that having been with several Astrologers, some affirming she should have her Goods again, others gave contrary Judgment, which made her come unto me for a final Resolution.

At last my Enemy began her before-made Speech, and, without the least stumbling, pronounced it before the Court; which ended, she had some Queries put unto her, and then I spoke for my self, and produced my own *Introduction* into Court, saying, That I had some Years before emitted that Book for the Benefit of this and other Nations; that it was allowed by Authority, and had found good Acceptance in both Universities; that the Study of Astrology was lawful, and not contradicted by any Scripture; that I neither had, or ever did, use any Charms, Sorceries, or Incantments related in the Bill of Indictment, &c.

She then related, That she had been several times with me, and that afterwards she could not rest a Nights, but was troubled with Bears, Lions, and Tygers, &c. My Council was the Recorder

corder Green, who after he had answered all Objections, concluded, Astrology was a lawful Art.

Mistress, said he, What Colour was those Beasts that you were so terrified with?

I never saw any (said she).

How do you then know they were Lions, Tygers or Bears, reply'd he.—This is an idle Person, only fit for *Bedlam*. The Jury who went not from the Bar, brought in, No true Bill.

There were many Presbyterian Justices much for her, and especially one *Roberts*, a busie Fellow for the Parliament, who after his Majesty came in, had like to have lost Life and Fortune.

I had procured Justice *Hooker* to be there, who was the Oracle of all the Justices of Peace in *Middlesex*.

There was nothing memorable, after that happened unto me, until 1650, and the Month of *October*, at what time Captain *Owen Cox* brought me over from his Majesty of *Sweden*, a Gold Chain and Medal, worth about 50*l*. the Cause whereof was, that in the Year 1657, and 1658, I had made honourable Mention of him; the *Anglicus* of 1658 being translated into the Language spoke at *Hamburg*, printed and cry'd about the Streets, as it is in *London*.

The Occasion of my writing so honourably of his Majesty of *Sweden* was this; Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock*, Knight, upon the very time of *Oliver's* being made Protector, having made very noble Articles betwixt *Christina* then Queen of *Sweden*, and the *English* Nation, was in his being at *Stockholm* visited frequently by *Charles Gustavus*, unto whom *Christina* resigned during his abroad, and used with all manner of Civility by him, insomuch as some other Ambassadors took it ill, that they had not so much Respect or Equal, unto which he would reply, he would be kind where himself did find

just Cause of Merit unto any : He was a great Lover of our Nation, but there was some other Causes also moving my Pen to be so liberal, *viz.* The great Hopes I had of his prevailing, and of taking *Copenhagen* and *Elfinore*, which if he had lived, was hoped he might have accomplished; and had assuredly done, if *Oliver* the Protector had not so untimely died 'ere our Fleet of Ships returned; for *Oliver* sent the Fleet of purpose to fight the *Dutch*; but dying, and the Parliament being restored, Sir *Henry Vane*, who afterwards was beheaded, had Order from the Council of State to give Order to the Fleet what to do now *Oliver* was dead, and themselves restored : *Vane*, out of State-Policy, gave the Earl of *Sandwich* Direction not to fight the *Dutch* : Captain *Symons*, who carried those Letters, swore unto me, had he known the Letters he carried had contained any such Prohibition, he would have sunk both Ship and Letters. *Oliver* said, when the Fleet was to go forth, ' That if God blessed his Majesty of *Sweden* with *Copenhagen*, the *English* were to have *Elfinore* as their Share; which if once I have, (saith *Oliver*) the *English* shall have the whole Trade of the *Baltick Sea*; I will inake the *Dutch* find another Passage, except they will pay such Customs as I shall impose. Considering the Advantages this would have been to our *English*, who can blame my Pen for being liberal thereby to have encouraged our famous and noble Seamen, or for writing so honourably of the *Swedish* Nation, who had most courteously treated my best of Friends, Sir *Bulstrode Whitlock*, and by whose Means, had the Design taken Effect, the *English* Nation had been made happy with the most beneficial Concern of all Christendom. I shall conclude about *Oliver* the then Protector, with whom obliquely I had Transactions by his Son-in-law, Mr. *Cleypool*; and to speak truly of him,

him, he sent one that waited upon him in his Chamber, once in two or three Days, to hear how it fared with me in my Session's Business; but I never had of him, directly or indirectly, either Pension, or any the least Sum of Money, or any Gratuity during his whole Protectorship; this I protest to be true, by the Name and in the Name of the most holy God.

In 1653, before the Dissolution of the Parliament, and that 'ere they had chosen any for their Ambassador into Sweden, Mr. Cleypool came unto me, demanding of me whom I thought fittest to send upon that Ambassy into Sweden; I nominated Sir B. Whitlock, who was chosen, and two or three Days after Mr. Cleypool came again; I hope Mr. Lilly, my Father, hath now pleased you; your Friend Sir B. Whitlock is to go for Sweden. But since I have mentioned Oliver Cromwell, I will relate something of him, which perhaps no other Pen can, or will mention: He was born of generous Parents in Huntingdonshire, educated some time at the University of Cambridge; in his Youth was wholly given to Debauchery, Quarrelling, Drinking, &c. *quid non*; having by those means wasted his Patrimony, he was enforced to bethink himself of leaving England and go to New-England; he had hired Passage in a Ship, but 'ere she launched out for her Voyage, a Kinsman dieth, leaving him a considerable Fortune; upon which he returns, pays his Debts, became affected to Religion; is elected in 1640 a Member of Parliament, in 1642 made a Captain of Horse under Sir Philip Stapleton, fought at Edge-Hill; after he was made a Colonel, then Lieutenant-General to the Earl of Manchester, who was one of the three Generals to fight the Earl of Newcastle and Prince Rupert at York: Ferdinando Lord Fairfax, and Earl Leven the Scot, were the other two for the Parliament; the last two thinking all had been lost at

Marston-Moor Fight, *Fairfax* went into *Cawood* Castle, giving all for lost; at Twelve at Night there came Word of the Parliament's Victory; *Fairfax* being then laid down upon a Bed, there was not a Candle in the Castle, nor any Fire; up riseth Lord *Fairfax*, procures after some time, Paper, Ink, and Candle, writes to *Hull*, and other Garrisons of the Parliament's, of the Success, and then slept.

Then the Scot ask'd the Way to *Tweed*; the Honour of that Day's Fight was given to *Manchester*, Sir *Thomas Fairfax* his Brigade of Horse, and *Oliver Cromwell* his Iron Sides; for *Cromwell's* Horse, in those Times, usually wore Head-pieces, Back and Breast-plates of Iron. After this Victory *Cromwell* became gracious with the House of Commons, especially the Zealots, or Presbyterians, with whom at that time he especially joined; the Name Independent, at that Time, viz. 1644, being not so much spoken of.

There was some Animosity at or before the Fight, betwixt the Earl of *Newcastle* and Prince *Rupert*; for *Newcastle* being General of his Majesty's Forces in the North, a Person of Valour, and well esteemed in those Parts, took it not well to have a Competitor in his Concernments; for if the Victory should fall on his Majesty's Side, Prince *Rupert's* Forces would attribute it unto their own General, viz. *Rupert*, and give him the Glory thereof; but that it happened, Prince *Rupert*, in that Day's Fight, engaged the Parliaments Forces too soon, and before the Earl of *Newcastle* could well come out of *York* with his Army; by reason whereof, though *Rupert* had absolutely routed the Scots and the Lord *Fairfax's* Forces; yet ere timely Assistance could second his Army, Sir *Tho' Fairfax* and *Cromwell* had put him to flight, and not long after all *Newcastle's* Army. Amongst the most memorable Actions of that Day's this happen'd, that one intire Regiment of Foot be-
longing

longing to *Newcastle*, called the Lambs, because they were all new cloathed in white Woollen Cloth, two or three Days before the Fight: This sole Regiment, after the Day was lost, having got into a small Parcel of Ground ditched in, and not of easie Access of Horse, would take no Quarter; and by mere Valour, for one whole Hour, kept the Troops of Horse from entring amongst them at near push of Pike; when the Horse did enter, they would have no Quarter, but fought it out till there was not Thirty of them living; those whose Hap it was to be beaten down upon the Ground as the Troopers came near them, though they could not rise for their Wounds, yet were so desperate as to get either a Pike or Sword, or Piece of them, and to gore the Troopers Horses as they came over them, or passed by them. Captain *Camby*, then a Trooper under *Cromwell*, and an Actor, who was the third or fourth Man that entred amongst them, protested, he never in all the Fights he was in, met with such resolute brave Fellows, or whom he pittied so much, and said, he saved two or three against their Wills.

After the Fight *Manchester* marched slowly Southward, &c. but at last came with his Army to *Newbury* Fight; which ended, he came for *London*, and there he accuseth *Cromwell*, being his Lieutenant, to the Parliament, of Disobedience, and not obeying his Orders.

The House of Commons acquaint *Cromwell* herewith, and charge him, as he would answer it before God, that the Day following he should give them a full Account of *Manchester's* Proceedings, and the Cause and Occasion of their Difference, and of the Reasons why *Manchester* did not timely move Westward for the Relief of *Essex*, then in the West, who was absolutely routed, inforced to fly, all his

his Foot taken, and all his Ordinance and Train of Artillery, only the Horse escaping.

Cromwell the next Day gave this Account to Mr. Speaker in the House of Commons— by way of Recrimination.

That after God had given them a successful Victory at *Marston* over the King's Forces, and that they had well refreshed their Army, *Manchester*, by their Order, did move Southward, but with such Slowness, that sometimes he would not march for three Days together; sometimes he would lie still one Day, then two Days; whereupon he said, considering the Earl of *Essex* was in the *West*, with what Success he then knew not, he moved *Manchester* several times to quicken his March to the *West*, for Relief of *Essex*, if he were beaten, or to divert the King's Forces from following of *Essex*; but he said *Manchester* still refused to make any Haste; and that one Day he said, if any Man but your self, Lieutenant, should so frequently trouble me, I would call him before a Council of War: We have beaten the King's Forces in the *North*; if we should do so in the *West*, his Majesty is then undone: He hath many Sons living; if any of them come to the Crown, as they well may, they will never forget us. This Major *Hammond*, a Man of Honour, will justify as well as my self. After which he marched not at all, until he had Order from the Committee to hasten Westward, by reason of *Essex* his being lost in *Cornwall*, which then he did; and at *Newbury* Fight, 'tis true, I refused to obey his Directions and Order; for this it was, his Majesty's Horse being betwixt four and five Thousand in a large Common, in good Order: He commands me, Mr. Speaker, to charge them; we having no way to come at them but through a narrow Lane, where not above three Horse could march a Breast; whereby had I followed his

his Order, we had been all cut off 'ere we could have got into any Order, Mr. Speaker, *and then he wept; (which he could do toties quoties)* I considering that all the visible Army you then had, was by this Council in danger to be lost; refused thus to indanger the main Strength, which now most of all consisted of those Horse under my Command, &c. This his Recrimination was well accepted by the House of Commons, who thereupon, and from that Time, thought there was none of the House of Lords, very fit to be intrusted with their future Armies, but had then Thoughts of making a Commoner their General; which afterwards they did, and elected Sir *Thomas Fairfax* their General, and *Cromwell* Lieutenant-General; but it was next Spring first. Upon *Essex* his being lost in *Cornwall*, I heard Serjeant *Maynard* say, "If now the King haste to *London* we are undone, having no Army to resist him."

His Majesty had many Misfortunes ever attending him, during his Abode at *Oxford*; some by reason of that great Animosity betwixt Prince *Rupert* and the Lord *Digby*, each endeavouring to cross one another; but the worst of all was by Treachery of several Officers under his Command, and in his Service; for the Parliament had in continual Pay one Colonel of the King's Council of War; one Lieutenant-Colonel; one Captain; one Ensign; one or two Serjeants; several Corporals, who had constant Pay, and duly paid them every Month, according to the Capacity of their Offices and Places, and yet none of these knew any thing of each other's being so employ'd. There were several Well-wishers unto the Parliament in *Oxford*, where each left his Letter, putting it in at the Hole of a Glass-window, as he made Water in the Street: What was put in at the Window in any of those Houses, was

the same Day conveyed two Miles off by some in the Habit of Town-Gardners, to the Side of a Ditch, where one or more were ever ready to give the Intelligence to the next Parliament Garrison: I was then familiar with all the Spies that constantly went in and out to Oxford.

But once more to my own Actions I had in 1652 and 1653; and 1654 much Contention with Mr. *Gatacre* of Redriff, a Man endued with all kind of Learning, and the ablest Man of the whole Synod of Divines in the *Oriental Tongues*.

The Synod had concluded to make an Exposition upon the Bible; some undertook one Book, some another. *Gatacre* fell upon *Jeremy*, upon making his Exposition on the 2d Verse of the 10th Chapter.

Learn not the Way of the Heathen, and be not dismay'd at the Signs of Heaven, for the Heathen are dismay'd at them.

In his Annotations thereupon, he makes a scandalous Exposition; and in express Terms, hints at me, repeating *verbatim*, ten or twelve Times, an Epistle of mine in one of my Former *Anglicus*.

The Substance of my Epistle was, That I did conceive the good Angels of God, did first reveal *Astrology* unto Mankind, &c. but he in his Annotations calls me *blind Buzzard*, &c.

Having now Liberty of the Press, and hearing the old Man was very cholerick, I thought fit to raise it up—and only wrote—I referred my Discourse then in Hand to the Discussion and Judgment of sober Persons, but not unto *Thomas Wiseman*, for *Senes his pueri*: These very Words begot the writing of forty-two Sheets against my self and *Astrology*. The next Year I quibled again in three or four Lines against him, then he printed twenty-two Sheets against me. I was perswaded by Dr. *Gauden*, late Bishop of *Exeter*, to let him

alone;

alone; but in my next Year's *Anglicus*, in August Observations, I wrote, *Hoc in tumba jacet Presbyter & Nebulo*, in which very Month he died.

Several Divines applied themselves unto me; desiring me to forbear any further vexing of Mr. *Gatacre*; but all of them did as much condemn him of Indiscretion, that in so sober a Piece of Work as that was, *viz.* in an Annotation upon a sacred Text of Scripture to particularize me and in that dirty Language; they pittied him, that he had not better considered with himself 'ere he published it.

Dean *Owen* of *Christ's-Church* in *Oxford*, also in his Sermons had sharp Invectives against me and Astrology; I cry'd quittance with him, by urging *Abbot Panormitan* his Judgment of Astrology contrary to *Owen's*, and concluded, An *Abbot* was an Ace above a *Dean*.

One Mr. *Nye* of the Assembly of Divines, a Jesuitical Presbyterian, bleated forth his Judgment publickly against me and Astrology; to be quit with him, I urged *Causinus* the Jesuit his Approbation of Astrology, and concluded, *Sic canibus catulos*, &c.

In some time after the *Dutch* Embassador was offended with some things in *Anglicus*, presented a Memorial to the Council of State, that *Merlinus Anglicus* might be considered, and the Abuses against their Nation examined; but his Paper was not accepted of, or I any way molested.

In *Oliver's* Protectorship, I wrote freely and satyrical enough; he was now become Independant, and all the Soldiery my Friends; for when he was in *Scotland*, the Day of one of their Fights, a Soldier stood with *Anglicus* in his Hand; and as the several Troops pass'd by him, "Lo, hear what *Lilly* saith; you are in this Month promised Victory, fight it out, brave Boys, and then read that Month's Prediction.

I had

I had long before predicted the Downfal of Presbytery, as you (most honoured Sir) in the Figure thereof, in my *Introduction*, may observe; and it was upon this Occasion. Sir Thomas Middleton of *Chark Castle*, Enemy to Presbytery, seeing they much prevailed, being a Member of the House, seriously demanded my Judgment, if Presbytery should prevail, or not, in *England*? The Figure printed in my *Introduction*, will best give you an Account, long before it happened, of the sinking and failing of Presbytery; so will the second Page of my *Hieroglyphicks*. Those Men, to be serious, would preach well; but they were more Lordly than Bishops, and usually, in their Parishes, more Tyrannical than the Great Turk.

Of the Year 1660; the Actions whereof, as they were remarkable in England, so were they no less memorable as to my particular Fortune and Person.

Upon the Lord General Monk's returning from *Scotland* with his Army into *England*, suddenly after his coming to *London*, Richard Cromwell, the then Protector, his Authority was laid aside, and the old Parliament restored; the Council of State sat as formerly. The first Act they put the General upon, was, to take down the City Gates and Portcullisses, an Act which, the General said, was fitter for a Janizary to do than for a General; yet he effected the Commands received, and then lodged in the City with his Army. The Citizens took this pulling down of their Gates so heinously, that one Night the ruder sort of them procured all the Rumps of Beef, and other Baggage, and publickly burnt them in the Streets, in Derision of the then Parliament, calling them that now sat, *The Rump*. This Hurly-burly was managed as well by the General's Soldiers as the Citizens. The King's Health was publickly drank all over

over the City, to the Confusion of the Parliament. The Matter continued until Midnight, or longer. The Council of State, sitting at *White-hall*, had hereof no Knowledge, until Sir *Martin Noell*, a discreet Citizen, came about Nine at Night, and then first informed them thereof: The Council could not believe it, until they had sent some Ministers of their own, who affirmed the Verity thereof: They were at a Stand, and could not resolve what to do; at last *Nevil Smith* came, being one of them, and publickly protested there was but one Way to regain their Authority, and to be revenged of this Affront, and to overthrow the Lord General *Monk*, whom they now perceived intended otherways than he had pretended; his Counsel was, To take away *Monk's* Commission, and to give a present Commission to Major-General *Lambert* to be their General; which Counsel of his, if they would take and put it speedily in Execution, would put an end unto all the present Mischiefs. The Council in general did all very well approve *Nevil Smith's* Judgment; but presently up starts Sir *Arthur Hazellrigg*, and makes a sharp Invektive against *Lambert*, and concluded, he would rather perish under the King of *Scots* Power, than that *Lambert* should ever any more have Command under the Parliament.

The Lord General suddenly after brings in the long excluded Members to sit in Parliament, being Persons of great Judgment, and formerly enforced from sitting therein by the Soldiery, and Connivance of those who stiled themselves the Godly Party of the Parliament. These Honourable Patriots presently voted his Majesty's Coming into *England*, and so he did in *May* 1660. But because *Charles* the Second, now (1667.) King of *England*, Son of *Charles* the First, Grand-child to *James* the First, King of *Great Brittany*, was so miraculously restored, and so many Hundreds of Years since
pro

prophefied of by *Ambrofe Merlin*, it will not be impertinent to mention the Prophecies themfelves, the rather becaufe we have feen their Verification.

*Ambrofe Merlin his Prophecy wrote about
990 Years fince.*

He calls King *James*, *The Lion of Righteoufnefs*; and faith, *When he died, or was dead, there would reign a noble White King*; this was *Charles the Firft*. The Prophet discovers all his Troubles, his flying up and down, his Imprifonment, his Death; and calls him *Aquila*. What concerns *Charles the Second*, is the Subject of our Difcourfe: In the *Latin* Copy it's thus;

*Deinde ab Auftro veniet cum Sole Super ligneos equos,
& Super fpumantem inundationem maris, Pullus Aquilæ
navigans in Britanniam.*

*Et applicans ftatim tunc altam domum Aquilæ fitiens,
& cito aliam fitiet.*

*Deinde Pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in fumma rupe totius
Britanniæ: nec juvenis occidet, nec ad senem pervet.*

This, in an old Copy, is Englifhed thus;

' After then, fhall come through the South with
' the Sun, on Horfe of Tree, and upon all Waves
' of the Sea, the Chicken of the *Eagle*, failing into
' *Britain*, and arriving anon to the Houfe of
' the *Eagle*, he fhall fhew Fellowfhip to them
' Beafte.

' After, the Chicken of the *Eagle* fhall neftle in
' the higheft Rock of all *Britain*; nay, he fhall
' nought be flain young; nay, he nought come
' old.

Another *Latin* Copy renders the laft Verfe thus;

*Deinde pullus Aquilæ nidificabit in fummo rupium,
nec juvenis occidetur, nec ad senium perveniet.* There
is after this, *pacificato regno, Omnes occidet*; which

is intended of those Persons put to death, that sat as Judges upon his Father's Death.

The Verification.

His Majesty being in the *Low-Countries* when the Lord General had restored the Secluded Members, the Parliament sent Part of the Royal Navy to bring him for *England*, which they did in *May* 1660. *Holland* is East from *England*, so he came with the Sun; but he landed at *Dover*, a Port in the South Part of *England*. *Woodden-Horses*, are the *English* Ships.

Tunc nificabit in summo rupium.

The Lord General, and most of the Gentry in *England*, met him in *Kent*, and brought him unto *London*, then to *White-hall*.

Here, by the *highest Rooch*, some write *Rock*,) is intended *London*, being the Metropolis of all *England*.

Since which Time, unto this very Day I write this Story, he hath reigned in *England*, and long may he do hereafter. 10 *December* 1667.

Had I Leisure, I might verify the whole preceding Part concerning King *Charles*. Much of the Verification thereof is mentioned in my Collection of *Prophecies*, printed 1645. But his Majesty being then alive, I forbore much of that Subject, not willing to give Offence. I dedicated that Book unto Him; and, in the Conclusion thereof, I advised his Return unto Parliament, with these Words, *Fac hoc & vires*.

There was also a Prophecy printed 1588, in *Greek* Characters, exactly decyphering the long Troubles the *English* Nation had from 1641 until 1660; and then it ended thus.

And after that shall come a dreadful dead Man, and with him a Royal G. [it's *Gamma* in the *Greek*, intending *C*. in the *Latin*, being the third Letter
in

in the Alphabet,] *of the best Blood in the World, and he shall have the Crown, and shall set England on the right Way, and put out all Heresies.*

Monkery being extinguished above 80 or 90 Years, and the Lord General's Name being *Monk*, is the *Dead-Man*. The Royal G. or C. is *Charles* the Second, who, for his Extraction, may be said to be of the best Blood in the World.

These two Prophecies were not given vocally by the Angels, but by Inspection of the Crystal in Types and Figures, or by Apparition the Circular way, where, at some Distance, the Angels appear, representing by Forms, Shapes, and Creatures, what is demanded: It is very rare, yea, even in our Days, for any Operator or Master to have the Angels speak articulately; when they do speak, it's like the *Irish*, much in the Throat.

What further concerns his Majesty, will more fully be evident about 1672 or 1674, or, at farthest, in 1676. And now unto my own Actions in 1660.

In the first Place, my Fee-Farm Rents, being of the Yearly Value of 120 l. were all lost by his Majesty's coming to his Restauration; but I do say truly, the Loss thereof did never trouble me, or did I repine thereat.

In June of that Year, a new Parliament was called, whereunto I was unwillingly invited by two Messengers of the Serjeant at Arms. The Matter whereupon I was taken into Custody, was, to examine me concerning the Person who cut off the King's Head, *viz.* the late King's.

Sir *Daniel Harvey*, of *Surrey*, got the Business moved against me in great Displeasure, because, at the Election of new Knights for *Surrey*, I procured the whole Town of *Walton* to stand, and give their Voices, for Sir *Richard Onslow*. The Committee to examine me, were Mr. *Prinn*, one Colonel *King*, and Mr. *Richard Weston* of *Gray's-Inn*.

God's

God's Providence appeared very much for me that Day, for walking in *Westminster-Hall*, Mr. *Richard Pennington*, Son to my old Friend Mr. *William Pennington*, met me, and enquiring the Cause of my being there, said no more, but walked up and down the Hall, and related my kindness to his Father unto very many Parliament-men of *Cheshire* and *Lancashire*, *Yorkshire*, *Cumberland*, and those Northern Countries, who numerously came up into the Speaker's Chamber, and bad me be of good comfort; at last he meets Mr. *Weston*, one of the three unto whom my Matter was referred for Examination, who told Mr. *Pennington*, that he came purposely to punish me, and would be bitter against me; but hearing it related, viz. my singular Kindness and Preservation of old Mr. *Pennington's* Estate, to the Value of Six or Seven Thousand Pounds, *I'll do him all the Good I can*, says he, *I thought he had never done any Good; let me see him, and let him stand behind me where I sit*: I did so. At my first Appearance, many of the young Members affronted me highly, and demanded several scurrillous Questions. Mr. *Weston* held a Paper before his Mouth; bad me answer no Body but Mr. *Prinn*; I obeyed his Command, and saved my self much Trouble thereby; and when Mr. *Prinn* put any difficult or doubtful Query unto me, Mr. *Weston* prompted me with a fit Answer; at last, after almost one Hour's tugging, I desired to be fully heard what I could say as to the Person who cut *Charles the First* his Head off. Liberty being given me to speak, I related what follows, viz.

That the next Sunday but one after *Charles the First* was beheaded, *Robert Spavin*, Secretary unto Lieutenant-General *Cromwell* at that Time, invited himself to dine with me, and brought *Anthony Peirson*, and several others, along with him to Dinner: That their principal Discourse all Dinner-

ner-time, was only, who it was that beheaded the King ; one said it was the common Hangman ; another, *Hugh Peters* ; others also were nominated, but none concluded. *Robert Spavin*, so soon as Dinner was done, took me by the Hand, and carried me to the South Window ; saith he, ' These are all mistaken, they have not named the ' Man that did the Fact ; it was Lieutenant-Colonel *JORCE* ; I was in the Room when he fitted himself for the Work, stood behind him when he did it ; when done, went in again with him : ' There's no Man knows this but my Master, *viz.* ' *Cromwell*, Commissary *Iretton*, and my self. Doth not Mr. *Rushworth* know it ? said I. No, he doth not know it, saith *Spavin*. The same Thing *Spavin* since had often related unto me when we were alone. Mr. *Prinn* did, with much Civility, make a Report hereof in the House ; yet *Norfolk* the Serjeant, after my Discharge, kept me two Days longer in Arrest, purposely to get Money of me : He had Six Pounds, and his Messenger Forty Shillings ; and yet I was attached but upon Sunday, examined on Tuesday, and then discharged, though the covetous Serjeant detained me until Thursday : By means of a Friend, I cried Quittance with *Norfolk*, which Friend was to pay him his Salary at that Time, and abated *Norfolk* Three Pounds, which we spent every Penny at one Dinner, without inviting the wretched Serjeant ; but in the latter End of the Year, when the King's Judges were arraigned at the *Old-Bayly*, *Norfolk* warned me to attend, believing I could give Information concerning *Hugh Peters* ; at the Sessions I attended during its Continuance, but was never called or examined : There I heard *Harrison*, *Scott*, *Clement*, *Peters*, *Hacker*, *Scroop*, and others of the King's Judges, and Cook the Solicitor, who excellently defended himself ; I say, I did hear what they could say for themselves, and after heard
the

the Sentence of Condemnation pronounced against them by the incomparably modest and learned Judge *Bridgman*, now Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England.

One would think my Troubles for that Year had been ended ; but in *January 166 $\frac{1}{2}$* , one *Everard*, a Justice of Peace in *Westminster*, 'ere I was stirring, sent a Serjeant and 34 Musqueteers for me to *White-hall* ; he had twice that Night seized about Sixty Persons, supposed Fanaticks, very despicable Persons, many whereof were Aged, some were Water-bearers, and had been Parliament-Soldiers ; others, of ordinary Callings : all these were guarded unto *White-hall*, into a large Room, until Day-light, and then committed to the *Gate-house* ; I was had into the Guard-Room, which I thought to be Hell ; some therein were sleeping, others swearing, others smoaking Tobacco. In the Chimney of the Room I believe there was two Bushels of broken Tobacco-Pipes, almost half one Load of Ashes. *Everard*, about Nine in the Morning, comes, writes my *Mittimus* for the *Gate-house*, then shews it me ; I must be contented, I desired no other Courtesy, but that I might be privately carry'd unto the *Gate-house* by two Soldiers ; that was denied. Amongst the miserable Crew of People, with a whole Company of Soldiers, I marched to Prison, and there for three Hours was in the open Air upon the Ground, where the common House of Office came down. After three Hours, I was advanced from this stinking Place up the Stairs, where there was on one Side a Company of rude swearing Persons ; on the other Side many Quakers, who lovingly entertained me : As soon as I was fixed, I wrote to my old honoured Friend Sir *Edward Walker*, Garter King at Arms, who presently went to Mr. Secretary *Nicholas*, and acquainted him with my Condition ; he ordered Sir *Edward* to write to *Everard* to release me, unless he had any particular

cular Information against me, which he had not : He further said, It was not His Majesty's Pleasure that any of his Subjects should be thus had to Prison without good Cause shewed before. Upon Receipt of Sir *Edward's* Letter, *Everard* discharged me, I taking the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy. This Day's Work cost me 37 s. Afterwards *Everard* stood to be Burgees for *Westminster* ; sent to me to procure him Voices ; I return'd Answer, That of all Men living he deserved no Courtesy from me, nor should have any.

In this Year 1660, I sued out my Pardon under the Broad Seal of *England*, being so advised by good Council, because there should be no Obstruction ; I passed as *William Lilly*, Citizen and Salter of *London* ; it cost me 13 l. 6 s. 8 d.

There happen'd a Verification of an Astrological Judgment of mine in this Year 1660, which because it was predicted Sixteen Years before it came to pass, and the Year expressly nominated, I thought fit to mention.

In Page 111. of my *Prophetical Merlin*, upon three sextile Aspects of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, made in 1659 and 1660, I wrote thus—

" This their friendly Salutation comforts us in
 " *England*, every Man now possesses his own Vine-
 " yard ; Our young Youth grow up unto Man's
 " Estate, and our old Men live their full Years ;
 " Our Nobles and Gentlemen root again ; Our
 " Yeomanry, many Years disconsolated, now take
 " Pleasure in their Husbandry : The Merchant
 " sends out Ships, and hath prosperous Returns ;
 " the Mechanick hath quick Trading : Here's al-
 " most a new World ; New Laws, new Lords ;
 " Now my Country of *England* shall shed no more
 " Tears, but rejoyce with, and in the many Bles-
 " sings God gives or affords her annually.

And in the same Book, Page 118, over-against the Year 1660, you shall find, *A Bonny Scot acts his Part.*

The

The Long Parliament would give *Charles* the Second no other Title than King of Scots.—

I also wrote to Sir *Edward Walker*, Kt. Garter King at Arms in 1659, he then being in *Holland*—

Tu, Dominusq; vester videbitis Angliam, infra duos Annos.— For in 1662, his *Moon* came by Direction to the Body of the *Sun*.

But he came in upon the Ascendant directed unto the *Trine* of *Sol* and Antiscion of *Jupiter*.—

And happy it was for the Nation he did come in, and long and prosperously may he reign amongst us.

In 1663 and 1664, I had a long and tedious Law-Suit in Chancery, M. C. coming to *Quartile* of *Saturn*; and the Occasion of that Suit, was concerning Houses, and my Enemy, tho' aged, had no Beard, was really Saturnine. We came unto a Hearing *Feb. 1664*, before the Master of the Rolls, Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, where I had the Victory, but no Costs given me.

My Adversary not satisfied with that Judgment, petition'd that most just and honourable Man the Lord Chancellor *Hyde*, for a Re-hearing his Cause before him.

It was granted, and the 13 June 1664, my M. C. then directed to *Quartile* of *Venus* and *Sol*, his Lordship most judiciously heard it with much Attention, and when my Adversary's Council had urged those Depositions which they had against me, his Lordship stood up and said,

'Here's not one Word against Mr. *Lilly*.—

I replied, My Lord, I hope I shall have Costs.

Very good Reason, saith he; and so I had: And, at my Departure out of Court, put off his Hat, and bid God be with you.

This is the Month of *Dec. 1667*, wherein, by Misfortune, he is much traduced and highly persecuted by his Enemies, is also retired, however not in the least questioned for any indirect Judgment

as Chancellor, in the Chancery ; [But in other Things he hath been very foul, as in the Articles drawn up by the Parliament against him, it appears. Which Articles I presume you have not seen, otherwise you would have been of another Mind, *A W*] for there was never any Person sat in that Place, who executed Justice with more Uprightness, or Judgment, or Quickness for Dispatch, than this very Noble Lord. God, I hope, in Mercy will preserve his Person from his Enemies, and in good time restore him unto all his Honours again : From my Soul I wish it, and hope I shall live to see it. *Amen : Fiat oh tu Deus justitie.*

In 1663, and 1664, I was made Church-warden of *Walton upon Thames*, settling as well as I could the Affairs of that distracted Parish, upon my own Charges; and upon my leaving the Place, forgave them 7 *l.* odd Money due unto me.

In 1664, I had another Law Suit with Capt. Colborn, Lord of the Manour of *Esher*, concerning the Rights of the Parish of *Walton* : He had newly purchased that Manour, and having 150 Acres of Ground, formerly Park and Wood Ground lying in our Parish, conceived, he had Right of Common in our Parish of *Walton* : Thereupon he puts 300 Sheep upon the Common ; part whereof I impounded : He *Replevins* them, gave me a Declaration, I answer'd it ; the Tryal was to be at the Assizes at *Kingston* in April 1664. When the Day of Tryal came, he had not one Witness in his Cause, I had many ; whereupon upon Conference, and by Mediation, he gave me Eleven Pounds for my Charges sustained in thar Suit, whereof I returned him back again 50*s.* Forty Shillings for himself, and Ten Shillings for the Poor of the Parish he lived in.

This I did at my own Cost and Charges, not one Parishioner joyning with me : I had now M. C. unto *Quartile of Venus* and *Sol*—both in my Second,
Ergo,

Ergo, I got Money by this Thing, or Suit. Sir *Bolstrode Whitlock* gave me Counsel.

Now I come unto the Year 1665, wherein that horrible and devouring Plague so extremely raged in the City of *London*; 27th of *June* 1665, I retired into the Country to my Wife and Family, where since I have wholly continued, and so intend by Permission of God; I had, before I came away, very many People of the poorer Sort frequented my Lodging, many whereof were so civil, as when they brought Waters, viz. Urines, from infected People, they would stand purposely at a Distance; I ordered those infected, and not like to die, Cordials, and caused them to Sweat, whereby many recovered. My Landlord of the House was afraid of those poor People, I nothing at all; he was desirous I should be gone; he had four Children, I took them with me into the Country and provided for them: Six Weeks after I departed, he, his Wife, and Man-servant died of the Plague.

In *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, Printed 1651, I had framed an *Hieroglyphick*, which you may see in *Pag.* the 7th, representing a great Sicknefs and Mortality; wherein you may see the Representation of People in their Winding-Sheets, Persons digging Graves and Sepultures, Coffins, &c. All this was performed by the more Secret Key of *Astrology*, or *Prophetical Astrology*.

In 1666, happened that miraculous Conflagration in the City of *London*, whereby in Four Days, the most part thereof was consumed by Fire. In my *Monarchy or no Monarchy*, the next side after the Coffins, and Pickaxes, there is Representation of a great City all in Flames of Fire. The Memorial whereof some Parliament Men remembring, thought fit to send for me before that Committee which then did Sit, for Examination of the Causes of the Fire; and whether there was no Treachery or Design in the Business, His Majesty being then
in

in War both with the *French* and *Dutch*. The Summons to appear before that Committee was as followeth.

Monday, 22th October, 1666.

At the Committee appointed to enquire after the Causes of the late Fires.

Ordered,

That Mr. Lilly do attend this Committee on Friday next being the 25th of October 1666, at Two of the Clock in the Afternoon in the Speaker's Chamber, to answer such Questions as shall be then and there asked him.

Robert Brooke.

By Accident I was then in *London*, when the Summons came unto me ; I was timorous of Committees, being ever by some of them calumniated, upbraided, scorned, and derided. However I must and did appear ; and let me never forget that great Affection and Care your self (Oh most Excellent and Learned Esq; *Ashmole*) shewed unto me at that Time. First, your Affection in going along with me all that Day ; Secondly, your great Pains and Care, in speaking unto many worthy Members of that Committee your Acquaintance, that they should befriend me, and not permit me to be affronted, or have any disgraceful Language cast upon me ; I must seriously acknowledge the Perswasions so prevailed with those generous Souls, that I conceive there was never more Civility used unto any than unto my self ; and you know, there were no small Number of Parliament Men appeared, when they heard I was to be there.

Sir Robert Brooke spoke to this purpose :

Mr.

‘ Mr. *Lilly*, This Committee thought fit to summon you to appear before them this Day, to know, if you can say any thing as to the Cause of the late Fire, or whether there might be any Design therein, you are called the rather hither; because in a Book of yours long since printed, you hinted some such Thing by one of your Hieroglyphicks. Unto which I replied,

May it please your Honours,

‘ After the Beheading of the late King, considering that in the Three subsequent Years the Parliament acted nothing which concerned the Settlement of the Nation in Peace; and seeing the Generality of People dissatisfy’d, the Citizens of *London* discontented, the Soldiery prone to Mutiny, I was desirous, according to the best Knowledge God had given me, to make Enquiry by the Art I study’d, what might from that Time happen unto the Parliament and Nation in general: At last having satisfied my self as well as I could, and perfected my Judgment therein, I thought it most convenient to signify my Intentions and Conceptions thereof, in Forms, Shapes, Types, Hieroglyphicks, &c. without any Commentary, that so my Judgment might be concealed from the Vulgar, and made manifest only unto the Wise, I herein imitating the Examples of many wise Philosophers who had done the like.

‘ Sir *Robert*, saith one, *Lilly* is yet *sub vestibulo*. I proceeded further (said I) ‘ Having found, Sir, that the City of *London* should be sadly afflicted with a great Plague, and not long after with an exorbitant Fire, I framed these two Hieroglyphicks as represented in the Book, which in effect have proved very true.

Did you foresee the Year, said one?

' I did not, said I, or was desirous, of that I made no Scrutiny ; I proceeded —

' Now, Sir, whether there was any Design of Burning the City, or any employed to that Purpose, I must deal ingeniously with you, that since the Fire, I have taken much Pains in the Search thereof, but cannot or could not give my self any the least Satisfaction therein, I conclude, That it was the only Finger of God ; but what Instruments he used thereunto, I am ignorant.

The Committee seemed well pleased with what I spoke, and dismissed me with great Civility.

Since which Time no memorable Action hath happened unto me, my Retirement impeding all Concourse unto me.

I have many Things more to communicate, which I shall do, as they offer themselves to Memory.

In Anno 1634, and 1635, I had much Familiarity with *John Hegenius*, Doctor of Physick, a *Dutchman*, an excellent Scholar and an able Physician, not meanly versed in *Astrology* ; unto him, for his great Civility, I communicated the Art of framing *Sigils*, *Lamens*, &c. and the Use of the *Mosaical Rods* — : and we did create several *Sigils* to very good Purpose ; I gave him the true Key thereof, viz. instructed him of their Forms, Characters, Words, and last of all, how to give them Vivification, and what Number or Numbers were appropriated to every Planet : *Cum multis aliis in libris veterum Latentibus ; aut perspicue non intellectis.*

I was well acquainted with the Speculator of *John a Windor*, a Scrivener, sometimes living in *Newbury*. This *Windor* was Club-fisted, wrote with a Pen betwixt both his Hands ; I have seen many Bonds and Bills wrote by him ; He was much given to Debauchery, so that at some times the Demons would not appear to the Speculator ; He would

would then Suffumigate ; sometimes, to vex the Spirits, he would curse them, fumigate with Contraries. Upon his Examination before Sir Henry Wallop, Kt. which I have seen, he said, he once visited Dr. Dee in Mortlack ; and out of a Book that lay in the Window, he copied out that *Call* which he used, when he invoked —

It was that — which near the Beginning of it hath these Words,

*Per Virtutem illorum qui invocant nomen tuum,
Hermeli — mitte nobis tres Angelos, &c.*

Windor had many good Parts, but was a most leud Person ; my Master *Wright* knew him well, and having Dealing in those Parts, made use of him as a Scrivener.

Oliver Withers, Servant to Sir *H Wallop*, brought up a *Windor's* Examination unto *London*, purposely for me to peruse. This *Withers* was Mr. *Fiske's* Scholar three Years more or less, to learn *Astrology* of him ; but being never the wiser, *Fiske* brought him unto me, by shewing him but how to judge one Figure, his Eyes were opened ; He made the Epistle before Dr. *Neve's* Book, now in Mr. *Sander's* Hands, was very learned in the *Latin*, *Greek* and *Hebrew* Tongues.

Having mention'd Dr. *John Dee*, I hold it not impertinent to speak something of him ; but more especially of *Edward Kelley* his Speculator.

Dr. *Dee* himself was a *Cambro Britain*, educated in the University of *Oxford*, there took his Degree of Doctor ; afterwards for many Years in Search of the profounder Studies, travelled into Foreign Parts ; to be serious, he was Queen *Elizabeth's* Intelligencer, and had a Salary for his Maintenance from the Secretaries of State. He was a ready witted Man, quick of Apprehension, very Learned, and of great Judgment in the *Latin* and

Greek Tongues. He was a very great Investigator of the more secret Hermetical Learning, a perfect Astronomer, a curious Astrologer, a serious Geometrician ; to speak Truth, he was excellent in all Kinds of Learning.

With all this, he was the most ambitious Person living, and most desirous of Fame and Renown, and was never so well pleased as when he heard himself stiled, *Most Excellent*.

He was studious in Chymistry, and attained to good Perfection therein ; but his Servant, or rather Companion, *Kelley*, out-went him, viz. about the *Elixir* or Philosopher's Stone ; which neither *Kelley* or *Dee* attained by their own Labour and Industry. It was in this manner *Kelley* obtained it, as I had it related from an ancient Minister, who knew the Certainty thereof from an old *English* Merchant, Resident in *Germany* at what Time both *Kelley* and *Dee* were there.

Dee and *Kelley* being in the Confines of the Emperor's Dominions, in a City where resided many *English* Merchants, with whom they had much Familiarity ; there happened an old Friar to come to Dr. *Dee*'s Lodging. knocking at the Door ; *Dee* peeped down the Stairs ; *Kelley* (says he) Tell the old Man I am not at Home. *Kelley* did so ; the Friar said, *I will take another Time to wait on him.* Some few Days after, he came again. *Dee* ordered *Kelley*, if it were the same Person, to deny him again. He did so ; at which the Friar was very angry. ' Tell thy Master I came to speak with
' him and to do him good, because he is a great
' Scholar and Famous ; but now tell him, he put
' forth a Book and dedicated it to the Emperor,
' it's called *Monas Hieroglyphicas* : He understands it
' not, I wrote it my self, I came to instruct him
' therein, and in some other more profound things.
' Do thou, *Kelley*, come along with me, I will
' make thee more famous than thy Master *Dee*.

Kelley

of his LIFE and TIMES. 101

Kelley was very apprehensive of what the *Friar* delivered, and thereupon suddenly retired from *Dee*, and wholly applied unto the *Friar*, and of him either had the *Elixir* ready made, or the perfect Method of its Preparation and Making: The poor *Friar* lived a very short time after; whether he died a natural Death, or was otherwise poisoned or made away by *Kelley*, the Merchant who related this, did not certainly know.

How *Kelley* died afterwards at *Prague*, you well know; he was born at *Worcester*, had been an Apothecary: Not above 30 Years since he had a Sister lived in *Worcester*, who had some Gold made by her Brother's Projection.

Dr. Dee died at *Mortlack* in *Surrey*, very poor, enforced many times to sell some Book or other to buy his Dinner with, as *Dr. Napier* of *Linford* in *Buckinghamshire* oft related, who knew him very well.

I have read over his Book of Conference with Spirits, and thereby perceive many Weaknesses in the Manage of that way of Mosaical Learning; but I conceive, the Reason why he had not more plain Resolutions, and more to the Purpose, was, because *Kelley* was very vicious, unto whom the Angels were not obedient, or willingly did declare the Questions propounded; but I could give other Reasons, but those are not for Paper.

I was very familiar with one *Sarah Skelhorn*, who had been Speculatrix unto one *Arthur Gauntlet* about *Gray's-Inn-Lane*, a very lewd Fellow, professing Physick: This *Sarah* had a perfect Sight, and indeed the best Eyes for that Purpose I ever yet did see. *Gauntlet's* Books, after he was dead, were sold, after I had perused them, to my Scholar *Humphreys*; there were rare Notions in them. This *Sarah* lived a long time, even until her Death, with one *Mrs. Stockman* in the Isle of *Purbeck*, and died about sixteen Years since:

Her Mistress one time being desirous to accompany her Mother, the Lady *Beconsfield*, unto *London*, who lived twelve Miles from her Habitation, caused *Sarah* to inspect her Crystal, to see if she, viz. her Mother, was gone, yea or not; the Angels appeared, and shewed her Mother opening a Trunk, and taking out a red Waistcoat, whereby she perceived she was not gone; next Day she went to her Mother's, and there, as she entered the Chamber, she was opening a Trunk, and had a red Waistcoat in her Hand: *Sarah* told me oft, the Angels would for some Years follow her, and appear in every Room of the House, until she was weary of them.

This *Sarah Skelhorn*, her Call unto the Crystal began,

Oh ye good Angels, only and only, &c.

Ellen Evans, Daughter of my Tutor *Evans*, her Call unto the Crystal was this:

O Micol, O tu Micol, regina Pigmearum veni, &c.

Sith I have related of the Queen of *Fairies*, I shall acquaint you, that it's not for every one, or every Person that these Angelical Creatures will appear unto, though they may say over the Call, over and over, or indeed is it given to very many Persons to endure their glorious Aspects; even very many have failed just at that present when they are ready to manifest themselves; even Persons otherwise of undaunted Spirits and firm Resolution, are herewith astonished, and tremble; as it happened not many Years since with us, a very sober discreet Person, of vertuous Life and Conversation, was beyond Measure desirous to see something in this Nature; he went with a Friend into my *Hurst Wood*, the Queen of *Fairies* was invoked, a gentle murmuring Wind came first; after that, amongst the Hedges, a smart Whirlwind; by and by a strong Blast of Wind blew upon the Face of the Friend, — and the Queen

Queen appearing in a most illustrious Glory. No more, I beseech you, (quoth the Friend) my Heart fails; I am not able to endure longer, nor was he; his black curling Hair rose up, and I believe a Bullrush would have beat him to the Ground; he was soundly laughed at, &c.

Sir Robert Holborn, Knight, brought once unto me (a) Gladwell of Suffolk, who had formerly had Sight and Conference with Uriel and Raphael, but lost them both by Carelessness; so that neither of them both would but rarely appear, and then presently be gone, resolving nothing; he would have given me 200*l.* to have assisted him for their Recovery, but I am no such Man.—Those glorious Creatures, if well commanded, and well observed, do teach the Master any thing he desires; *Amant secreta, fugiunt aperta.* The Fairies love the Southern Side of Hills, Mountains, Groves.—Neatness and Cleanliness in Apparel, a strict Diet, an upright Life, fervent Prayers unto God, conduce much to the Assistance of those who are curious these ways.

It hath been my Happiness to meet with many Rarities in my Time unexpectedly. I had a Sister lived in the *Minories*, in that very House where formerly had lived one *Evans*, not my Tutor, but another far exceeding him in Astrology, and all other occult Learning, question'd for his Life about 1612; I am sure it was when the present Earl of Manchester's Father was Lord Chief Justice of England; he was found guilty by a peevish Jury, but petitioning King James by a Greek Petition, as indeed he was an excellent Gre-

(a) Mr. Gilbert Wakering gave him his Berril when he died; it was of the Largeness of a good big Orange, set in Silver, with a Cross on the Top, and another on the Handle; and round about engraved the Names of these Angels, Raphael, Gabriel, Uriel.

cian; By my Saul, said King James, this Man shall not die; I think he is a better Grecian than any of my Bishops; so his Life was spared, &c. My Sister's Master when new Modelling the House, broke up a Window, under which were Evans's secret Manuscripts, and two Moulds in Brass; one of a Man, the other of a Woman; I bought the Moulds and (a) Book for five Shillings; the Secrets were wrote in an imperfect Greek Character; but after I found the Vowels, all the rest were presently clear enough.

You see, most worthy Sir, I write freely; it's out of the Sincerity of my Affection, many things wrote by me having been more fit for a Sepulture than a Book: But,

Quo Major est virorum praeantium, tui similium inopia; eo mihi charior est, & esse debet & amicitia tua: Quam quidem omnibus officiis, & studiis, quae a summa benevolentia possunt, perpetuo colam: However, who study the Curiosities before-named, if they are not very well versed in Astrology, they shall rarely attain their desired Ends. There was, in the late Times of Trouble, one Mortlack, who pretended unto Speculations, had a Crystal, a Call of Queen Mab, one of the Queen of Fairies; he deluded many thereby; at last I was brought into his Company; he was desired to make Invocation, he did so; nothing appeared, or would; three or four times in my Company he was put upon to do the Work, but could not; at last he said he could do nothing as long as I was in presence; I at last shewed him his Error, but left him as I found him, a pretended Ignoramus.

I may seem to some to write *incredibilia*; be it so, but knowing unto whom, and for whose only sake, I do write them; I am much comforted therewith, well knowing you are the most know-

(a) From these MSS. he gained his first Knowledge.

ing

ing Man in these Curiosities of any now living in England; and therefore it is my Hope, these will be a Present well-becoming you to accept.

Præclara omnia quam difficilia sint, his præsertim temporibus. (Celeberrimè Armiger,) non te fugit; and therefore I will acquaint you with one memorable Story related unto me by Mr. John Marr, an excellent Mathematician and Geometrician, whom I conceive you remember; He was Servant to King James and Charles the first.

At first, when the Lord Napier, or Marchiston made publick his *Logarithms*, Mr. Briggs, then Reader of the Astronomy Lecture at Gresham-College in London, was so surprized with Admiration of them, that he could have no Quietness in himself, untill he had seen that noble Person the Lord Marchiston, whose only Invention they were; he acquaints John Marr herewith, who went into Scotland before Mr. Briggs, purposely to be there when these Two so learned Persons should meet: Mr. Briggs appoints a certain Day when to meet at Edinborough, but failing thereof, the Lord Napier was doubtful he would not come: It happened one Day as John Marr and the Lord Napier were speaking of Mr. Briggs; Ah, John, saith Marchiston, Mr. Briggs will not now come; at the very Instant one knocks at the Gate; John Marr hastened down, and it proved Mr. Briggs, to his great Contentment; he brings Mr. Briggs up into my Lord's Chamber, where almost one Quarter of an Hour was spent, each beholding other almost with Admiration, before one Word was spoke, at last Mr. Briggs began.

My Lord, I have undertaken this long Journey purposely to see your Person, and to know by what Engine of Wit or Ingenuity you came first to think of this most excellent Help unto Astronomy, viz. the *Logarithms*; but, My Lord, being by you found out, I wonder no Body else
found

' found it out before, when now known, it is so easy. He was nobly entertain'd by the Lord Napier, and every Summer after that, during the Lord's being alive, this venerable Man, Mr. Briggs, went purposely into Scotland to visit him; *Tempora nunc mutantur.*

These two Persons were worthy Men in their Time; and yet the One, *viz.* Lord Marchiston, was a great Lover of Astrology, but Briggs the most Satyrical Man against it that hath been known; but the Reason hereof I conceive was, that Briggs was a severe Presbyterian, and wholly conversant with Persons of that Judgment; whereas the Lord Marchiston was a general Scholar, and deeply read in all Divine and Human Histories; it's the same Marchiston who made that most serious and learned Exposition upon the Revelation of St. John; which is the best that ever yet appeared in the World.

Thus far proceeded Mr. William Lilly in setting down the Account of his Life, with some other things of note: Now shall be added something more which afterwards happened during his Retirement at his House at *Herisham*, until his Death.

He left London in the Year 1665, (as he hath before noted) and betook himself to the Study of Physick; in which, having arrived at a competent Degree of Knowledge, assisted by diligent Observation and Practice, he desired his old Friend Mr. Ashmole, to obtain of his Grace Dr. Sheldon, then Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, a License for the Practice of Physick; which upon Application to his Grace, and producing a Testimonial [October 8. 1670,] under the Hands of two Physicians of the College in London, on Mr. Lilly's behalf, he most readily granted, in the Manner following, *viz.*

GIL-

GILBERTUS Providentia Divina *Can-*
tuariensis Archiepiscopus totius *Angliæ* Pri-
 mas & Metropolitanus, Dilecto Nobis in
 Christo GULIELMO LILLY in Medicinis Pro-
 fessori, Salutem, gratiam, & benedictionem.
 Cum ex fide digna relatione acceperimus
 Te in arte sive facultate Medicinæ per non
 modicum tempus versatum fuisse, multisque
 de salute & sanitate corporis verè despera-
 tis (Deo Omnipotente adjuvante) subve-
 nisse, eosq; sanasse, nec non in arte pre-
 dictà multorum peritorum laudabili testi-
 monio pro experientia, fidelitate, diligen-
 tia & industria tuis circa curas quas susce-
 peris peragendas in hujusmodi Arte Medi-
 cinæ meritò commendatum esse, Ad pra-
 cticandum igitur & exercendum dictam
 Artem Medicinæ in, & per totam Provin-
 ciam nostram *Cant'* (Civitate *Lond'* &
 circuitu septem Milliarum eidem prox'
 adjacen' tantummodo exceptis) ex cau-
 sis prædictis & aliis Nos in hac per te
 justè moventibus, Præstito primitus per
 Te Juramento de agnoscendo Regiam su-
 premam potestatem in causis Ecclesiasticis
 & temporalibus ac de renunciando, refu-
 tando, & recusando omni, & omnimodæ
 Jurisdictioni, Potestati, Authoritati & Su-
 perioritati foraneis juxta vim formam &
 effectum Statuti Parliamenti hujus Inclyti
 Regni

Regni *Angliæ* in ea parte editi & provisi quantum nobis per Statuta hujus Regni *Angliæ* liceat & non aliter neque alio modo Te admittimus & approbamus, Tibiq; Licentiam & Facultatem nostras in hac parte, Tenore præsentium quamdiu Te benè & laudabiliter gesseris benignè concedimus & elargimur. In cujus rei Testimonium Sigillum (quo in hac parte utimur) præsentibus apponi fecimus. Dat. Undecimo Die Mensis Octobris, Anno Domini 1670. Nostræque Translationis Anno Octavo.

Sigillum



Radulph. Snowe

E T

Edm. Sherman

} Registrarii.

S. Rich. Lloyd, Sur.

Vicarii in Spiritualibus Generalis
per Provinciam *Cantuariensem*.

Hereupon he began to practise more openly, and with good Success, and every *Saturday* rode to *Kingston*, where the poorer sort flockt to him from severall Parts, and received much Benefit by his Advice and Prescriptions, which he gave them freely, and without Money: From those that were more able, he now and then received a Shilling, and sometimes an Half-Crown, if they offered it to him, otherwise he demanded nothing; and, in truth, his Charity towards poor People was

was very great, no less than the Care and Pains he took in considering and weighing their particular Cases, and applying proper Remedies to their Infirmities, which gained him extraordinary Credit and Estimation.

He was of a strong Constitution, and continued generally in good Health, till the 16th of *August* 1674, when a violent Humour discovered it self in Red Spots all over his Body, with little Pusshes in his Head. This, in the Winter [18 *December*] following, was seconded by a Distemper whereof he fell sick, and was let blood in the Left Foot, a little above the Ankle.

The 20th of *December* following, a Humour descended from his Head to his Left Side, from Eight a-Clock at Night till the next Morning, and then staying a while in the Calf of his Leg, at length descended towards his Toes, the Anguish whereof put him into a Fever. This Humour fixed in two Places on the top of his Left Foot (one in that where he was let blood two Days before) which (upon Application of *Plegets*) growing ripe, they were [28 *Dec.*] lanced by Mr. *Agar* of *Kingston*, his Apothecary (and no less a skilful Chirurgeon; after which he began to be at ease, his Fever abated, and within Five Months the Cure was perfected.

The 7th of *November* 1675, he was taken with a violent Fit of Vomiting for some Hours, to which a Fever succeeded, that continued Four Months: This brought his Body exceeding low, together with a Dimness in his Eyes, which after occasioned him to make use of Mr. *Henry Coley*, as his *Amanuensis*, to transcribe (from his Dictates) his Astrological Judgments for the Year 1677; but the Monthly Observations for that Year, were written with his own Hand some Time before, though by this Time he was grown very dim-sighted. His Judgments and Observations for the

the succeeding Years, till his Death, (so also for the Year 1682,) were all composed by his Directions, Mr. Coley coming to *Hersham* the beginning of every Summer, and stay'd there, till, by Conference with him, he had dispatched them for the Press; to whom, at these Opportunities, he communicated his way of Judgment, and other Astrological *Arcana's*.

In the beginning of the Year 1681, he had a Flux, which weaken'd him much, yet after some Time his Strength encreased; but now his Sight was wholly taken from him, not having any Glimmering as formerly.

He had dwelt many Years at *Hersham*, where his Charity and Kindness to his poor Neighbours was always great and hearty; and the 30th of May 1681, towards the Evening, a dead Palsy began to seize his Left Side. The second of June, towards Evening, he took his Bed, and then his Tongue began to falter. The next Day he became very dull and heavy; sometimes his Senses began to fail him: Henceforward he took little or nothing, for his *Larinx* swell'd, and that impeded his Swallowing.

The Fourth of June, Mr. *Ashmole* went to visit him, and found he knew him, but spake little, and some of that scarce intelligible; for the Palsy began now to seize upon his Tongue.

The Eighth of June he lay in a great Agony, in-somuch that the Sweat followed Drop after Drop, which he bore with wonderful Courage and Patience (as indeed he did all his Sickness) without Complaint; and about Three a-Clock the next Morning, he died, without any Shew of Trouble or Pangs: Immediately before his Breath went from him, he sneezed three times.

He had often, in his Life-time, desired Mr. *Ashmole* to take care of his Funeral, and now his Widow desired the same; whereupon Mr. *Ashmole* obtain'd

tain'd Leave from Sir Matthew Andrews (who had the Parsonage of *Walton*) to bury him in the Chancel of that Church.

The 10th of *June*, his Coarse was brought thither, and received by the Minister (in his Surplice) at the *Litch-Gates*, who, passing before the Body into the Church, read the first Part of the Office for the Burial of the Dead. In the Reading-Desk he said all the Evening-Service, and after performed the rest of the Office (as established by Law) in the Chancel, at the Interment, which was about Eight a-Clock in the Evening, on the Left Side of the Communion-Table, Mr. *Ashmole* assisting at the laying him in his Grave, whereon afterwards [9 July 1681.] he placed a fair black Marble Stone, (which cost him 6*l.* 4*s.* 6*d.*) with this Inscription following.

Ne Oblivione conteretur Urna
Guilielmi Lillii
GULIELMI LILLII
astrologi peritissimi
ASTROLOGI PERITISSIMI,

QUI FATIS CESSIT

Quinto Idus Junii Anno Christi Juliano

MDCLXXXI.

Hoc Illi posuit amoris Monumentum

ELIAS ASHMOLE,

ARMIGER.

Shortly after his Death, Mr. *Ashmole* bought his Library of Books of Mrs. *Ruth Lilly* (his Widow and Executrix) for 50 *l.* he having oft times, in his Life-time, express'd, that if Mr. *Ashmole* would give that Sum, he should have them.

The following Epitaphs (*Latin* and *English*) were made by *George Smalridge*, then a Scholar at *Westminster*, after Student of *Christ-Church* in *Oxford*.

*In Mortem Viri Doctissimi Domini GULIELMI
LILLY, Astrologi, nuper defuncti.*

Occidit atque suis annalibus addidit atram
Astrologus, qui non tristior ulla, diem
Pone triumphales, lugubris Luna, quadrigas;
Sol maestum piceâ nube reconde caput.
Illum, qui Phæbi scripsit, Phæbesq; labores
Eclipsin docuit Stella maligna pati.
Invidia Astorum cecidit, qui Sidera rexit
Tanta erat in notas scandere cura domor.
Quod vidit, visum cupiit, potiturq; cupito
Cælo, & Sidereo fulget in orbe decus.
Scilicet hoc nobis prædixit ab ane Cometa,
Et fati emicuit nuncia Stella tui
Fallentem vidi faciem gemuiq; videndo
Illa fuit vati mortis imago suo,
Civilis timuere alii primordia belli
Jejunam metuit plebs stupefata famem
Non tantos tulerat bellumve famesve dolores:
Auspiciis essent hæc relevanda tuis,
In cautam subitus plebem nunc opprimat ensis;
Securos fati mors violenta trahat.
Nemo est qui videat moneatq; avertere fatum,
Ars jacet in Domini funera mersa sui
Solut natura reservare arcana solebat,
Solut & ambigui solvere jura poti.

Lustrasti

*Lustrasti erantes benè finâ mente Planetas
 Conspectum latuit stellata nulla tuum
 Defessos oculos pensârunt lumina mentis
 Firesias oculis, mentibus Argus eras.
 Germere, Firesia, poteras ventura, sed, Arge,
 In fatum haud poteras sat vigil esse tuum
 Sed vivit nomen semper cum sole vigebit,
 Immemor Astrologi non erit ulla dies
 Sacra canent laudes, quas si percurrere cones,
 Arte opus est, Stellâ quâ numerare soles
 Hereat hoc carmen cinerum custodibus urnis,
 Hospes quod spargens marmora rore legat.
 " Hic situs est, dignus nunquam cecidisse Prophetâ;
 " Fatorum interpretes fata inopina subit.
 " Versari æthereo dum vixit in orbe solebat :
 " Nunc humilem jactat Terra superba virum.
 " Sed Cælum metitur adhuc resupinus in urnâ
 " Vertitur in solitos palpebra clausa polos.
 " Huic busto invigilant solenni lampade Musæ,
 " Perpetuo nubes imbre sepulchra rigant.
 " Ille oculis movit distantia Sidera nostris,
 " Illam amota oculis traxit ad astra Deus.*

*An ELEGY upon the Death of WILLIAM
 LILLY the Astrologer.*

OUR Prophet's gone; no longer may our Ears
 (Spheres.
 Be charm'd with Musick of th' harmonious
 Let Sun and Moon withdraw, leave gloomy Night
 To shew their Nuncio's Fate, who gave more Light
 To th' erring World, than all the feeble Rays
 Of Sun or Moon; taught us to know those Days
 Bright Titan makes, followed the hasty Sun
 (Moon,
 Through all his Circuits, knew th' unconstant
 And more unconstant Ebbings of the Flood;
 And what is most uncertain, th' factious Brood,
 Flowing

Flowing in civil Broils, by the Heavens could date
 The Flux and Reflux of our dubious State.
 He saw the Eclipse of Sun, and Change of Moon
 He saw, but seeing would not shun his own :
 Eclips'd he was, that he might shine more bright,
 And only chang'd to give a fuller Light.
 He having view'd the Sky, and glorious Train
 Of gilded Stars, scorn'd longer to remain
 In Earthly Prisons, could he a Village love,
 Whom the Twelve Houses waited for above ?
 The grateful Stars a heavenly Mansion gave
 T' his heavenly Soul, nor could he live a Slave
 To Mortal Passions, whose Immortal Mind,
 Whilst here on Earth, was not to Earth confin'd.
 He must be gone, the Stars had so decreed ;
 As he of them, so they of him, had need.
 This Message 'twas the Blazing Comet brought ;
 I saw the pale-fac'd Star, and seeing thought
 (For we could guess, but only LILLY knew)
 It did some glorious Hero's Fall foreshew :
 A Hero's fall'n, whose Death, more than a War,
 Or Fire, deserv'd a Comet, th' obsequious Star,
 Could do no less than his sad Fate unfold,
 Who had their Risings, and their Settings told.
 Some thought a Plague, and some a Famine near ;
 (fear :
 Some Wars from *France*, some Fires at Home did
 Nor did they fear too much, scarce kinder Fate,
 But Plague of Plagues befell th' unhappy State
 When LILLY died. Now Swords may safely come
 From *France* or *Rome*, Fanaticks plot at home.
 Now an unseen, and unexpected Hand,
 By Guidance of ill Stars, may hurt our Land ;
 Unsafe, because secure, there's none to show
 How *England* may avert the fatal Blow.
 He's dead, whose Death the weeping Clouds deplore ;
 I wish we did not owe to him that Show'r.

Which

Which long expected was, and might have still
Expected been, had not our Nations Ill
Drawn from the Heavens a Sympathetick Fear,
England hath cause a second Drought to fear.
We have no second *LILLY*, who may die,
And by his Death may make the Heavens cry,
Then let your Annals, *Coley*, want this Day,
Think every Year Leap-Year ; or if 't must stay,
Cloath it in Black, let a sad Note stand by,
And stigmatize it to Posterity.

*Here follows the Copy of an Indictment filed
against Mr. Lilly, for which see Page 71
of his Life.*

THE Jurors for the Lord Protector of the Com-
mon Wealth of *England, Scotland and Ireland,*
&c. upon their Oaths do present, That *William Lilly*,
late of the Parish of *St. Clements Danes*, in the County
of *Middlesex*, Gent. not having the Fear of God be-
fore his Eyes, but being moved and seduced by
the Instigation of the Devil, the 10th Day of *July*,
in the Year of our Lord, 1654, at the Parish a-
foresaid, in the County aforesaid, wickedly, un-
lawfully and deceitfully, did take upon him, the
said *William Lilly*, by Inchantment, Charm and
Sorcery, to tell and declare to one *Anne East*, the
Wife of *Alexander East*, where Ten Waistcoats, of
the Value of five Pounds, of the Goods and Chat-
tels of the said *Alexander East*, then lately before
lost and stolen from the said *Alexander East*, should
be found and become ; and Two Shillings and
Sixpence in Monies, numbred of the Monies of
the said *Alexander*, from the said *Anne East*, then
and there unlawfully and deceitfully, he, the said
William Lilly, did take, receive, and had to tell
and declare to her the said *Anne*, where the said
Goods, so lost and stolen as aforesaid, should be
found

found and become ; And also that he, the said *William Lilly*, on the said Tenth Day of *July*, in the Year of our Lord, 1654, and divers other Days and Times, as well before as afterwards, at the said Parish aforesaid, in the County aforesaid, unlawfully and deceitfully did take upon him, the said *William Lilly*, by Enchantment, Charm and Sorcery, to tell and declare to divers other Persons, to the said Jurors, yet unknown, where divers Goods, Chattels and Things of the said Persons yet unknown, there lately before lost and stolen from the said Persons yet unknown, shou'd be found and become ; and divers Sums of Monies of the said Persons yet unknown, then and there unlawfully and deceitfully, he the said *William Lilly* did take, receive, and had to tell and declare to the said Persons yet unknown, where their Goods, Chattels and Things, so lost and stolen, as aforesaid, should be found and become in Contempt of the Laws of *England*, to the great Damage and Deceit of the said *Alexander* and *Anne*, and of the said other Persons yet unknown, to the evil and pernicious Example of all others in the like Case offending, against the Form of the Statute in this Case made and provided, and against the publick Peace, &c.

Anne East,
Emme Spencer,
Jane Gold,
Katherine Roberts,
Susannah Hulinge.

F I N I S.

*Just Publish'd, the SECOND
Edition of*

Mr. *William Lilly's* History of his Life and Times, from the Year 1602, to 1681. Written by himself in the 66th Year of his Age, to his worthy Friend *Elias Ashmole*, Esq; containing, among many Curious Particulars, I. An Account of Dr. *Forman*, Dr. *Napier*, Dr. *Booker*, Dr. *Dee*, *Kelly*, and all other Astrologers and Conjurers, his Cotemporaries; unfolding the Mysteries of the Black Art, viz. Incantations, Raising of Spirits, &c. II. The Tryal of *Isaac Antrobus*, Parson of *Egremond*, before Sir *Harbottle Grimston*, Master of the Rolls, for Baptizing a Cock by the Name of *Peter*, and committing Adultery with a Woman and her Daughter. III. A Discovery of several private Transactions relating to *Oliver Cromwell's* Management, during the Time of the *Civil Wars*; more especially that Grand Secret, *Who the Person was that cut off King CHARLES's Head*. IV. Mr. *Lilly's* Examination before the Parliament concerning the Fire of *London*: With some memorable Occurrences that happened after the Restoration of King *Charles II.* Printed for *J. Roberts*, in *Warwick-Lane.* Price 1 s. 6 d. Stitch'd. 2 s. Bound.

2

Mr. WILLIAM LILLY'S
True HISTORY
OF
King JAMES the First,
AND
King CHARLES the First.

With Sundry *Observations*, Remarkable
Passages, and many Secret Transactions
not 'till now divulged.

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by the Duke of *Buckingham's* Mother.
- II. The precipitate Measures taken by King CHARLES
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General *Fairfax*, Earl of *Arundel*, Earl of *Stras-*
ford, Earl of *Essex*, &c.
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on; a farther Account of the Person who Behead-
ed him; and of his private Interment at *Windſor*.
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THE HISTORY

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KINGDOM OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

FROM THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT
TO THE PRESENT

By
JOHN HALLAM, ESQ.
OF THE BARR

LONDON:
Printed by J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD.

1830.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

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B

TO THE

READER.



Y^e the ensuing Discourse, I shall draw down upon me the malevolent Influence of a Number of People ; with whose Malice being already acquainted, I care the less ;

A 3

I can

I can fall no lower than the Earth; and whoever thrusts me down sooner than Nature intended, must follow me sooner than he would be willing.

An Impudent prick-ear'd Presbyterian Priest, Rencounters me one Day; *Now Lilly, what say you Mr. Merlinus unto Charles, the Son of Charles the present Scottish King; he'll pull the Rebels out of White-Hall by the Ears; after a little modest Scolding, the Man was calm, and I promis'd Silence as to his Name, &c. I cannot wash the Blackmoor white; these woful Priests have so hardned their*

To the Reader. *iiij*

their Hearts against this *State*,
Pipe If never so melodiously unto
them, or tho' the *Parliament* act
never so wisely and prudently for
our and their Goods, they will
rebel against the *State*, and envy
Me.

If any Busy-body object, it's
besides my Task to write the
Life of the late *King*; I say, No,
I could do no less; I have no way
injured him; there is nothing I
mention of him which I had not
from those Persons of Credit,
who either saw the Actions done,
or heard with their Ears the
Words delivered. I have rather
been

iv *To the Reader.*

been sparing than lavish, even when I mention his worst or foulest Actions; there are Hundreds alive, who will swear I have more Balsom than Corrosive in the Discourse. I would be sorry to belie the Dead, as Mr. *Fuller* hath *Paracelsus*, who delivers him unto Posterity for a Drunkard, tho' those * who lived with him, knew no such thing by him, but report him Vertuous: But that Mr. *Fuller* may know he hath wantonly abused his Oratory, I let the Ages to come know thus much of himself,

* *Bishop of Saltzburg.*

Bishop of Saltzburg.

To the Reader.

V

self, viz. That he took the Covenant twice for the Parliament, before my Face in the Savoy-Church ; invited others unto it ; yet, *Apostate*-like, ran within few Days to Oxford, and there whined to his Companions, and protested, the Countess of R. made him take it. *Let not thy Fests, like Mummy, be made of Dead Mens Flesh. Abuse not any that are departed ; for to wrong their Memories, is to rob their Ghosts of their Winding-Sheets* *. And yet this Man must call *Paracelsus* a Quacksalver, and give him be-

* Says Tho. Fuller in his Holy State, Page 156.

vj

To the Reader.

besides, other *Billingsgate* Language: Doctor *Charlton* + stiles *Paracelsus*; the Ornament of Germany, &c. Let the World and Writings of the Man judge of the Truth of Mr. *Fuller's* scurvy Language.

I'll Apologize for nothing I have now writ; only if in 1644. I differ somewhat from what I now write about the *White King* and *Eagle*; I can say for my self, *Later Counsels* ever correct the former; and that's Answer enough; besides, the *White King's*

† In his *Mag. Cure of Wounds*, Pag. 30. *

in his *Magical Cure of Wounds*, pag 30
Paracelsus Eagle

To the Reader. vij

King's Tragedy is now Acted, it was then on the Stage. Long live the *Parliament*; God Bless the *Army*; all Happiness unto the *Common-Wealth*, and unto all my dispersed Friends in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Scotland*. Adieu.
I am,

Corner-house, over-
against *Strand*-
Bridge, July 23.
1651.

William Lilly.
William Lilly

O B.

Samuel Day
His Book

Samuel Day
His Book



SEVERAL
OBSERVATIONS
UPON THE
LIFE and DEATH
OF
CHARLES
LATE
KING of ENGLAND.



CHARLES STUART, late
King of England, was Born at
Dumferlin in Scotland, about Fif-
teen Miles from Edinburgh, No-
vemb. 19. 1600. He lived Forty
Eight Years, and about Seventy Two Days.
He died in the beginning of his Climacte-
B rical

rical Year, fatal many times where killing Directions in the Nativity threaten. Several *Characters* are given of him; some do too much magnifie him, others as much vilify him: He was well educated by his Father under careful *Tutors*, Men of great Knowledge in all manner of Qualities, fit for Education of *Princes*; and came to the Crown being aged Twenty Four Years and about Four Months, even in the Flower of his Age. Of his Infancy we have little to mention, only he was noted to be very wilful and obstinate by Queen *Anne* his Mother, and some others who then were about him: His Mother being told he was very Sick and like to Die, said, He would not then die, or at that time, but live to be the Ruin of himself, and the occasion of the Loss of his Three *Kingdoms*, by his too much Wilfulness: A sad Prediction from a Mother, who most entirely loved him, but it proved very true in the Sequel. Some affirm she had that foresight of his Condition from a Stranger, who had not only great Judgment in Nativities, but in the more secret Learning; others, that one *English*, a *Scot*, informed her thereof first. Queen *Anne* may be thought to have the Spirit of *Prophecy* in judging so rightly on her Son and Daughter; for she so much scorned and undervalued the *Palsgrave* for a Husband unto the Lady *Elizabeth*,
that

Death of King CHARLES. 3

that in most of her Language after and before the Marriage, she would call her *Goodwife Palsgrave*; a Name and Title she thought good enough for any Woman should marry that dull and unfortunate Man; and indeed her Fears and Predictions proved most true. The old *Scotish* Lady his Nurse was used to affirm as much, and that he was of a very evil Nature even in his Infancy; and the Lady, who after took Charge of him, cannot deny it, but that he was beyond measure wilful, and unthankful; Yet while he was young, he followed his Book seriously, which his elder Brother Prince *Henry* could not endure; and therefore King *James* would frequently blame *Prince Henry* with the neglect of his Book, and tell him how his Brother *Charles* followed it; whereupon the Prince would reply, when that he himself should be King, he would make his Brother *Charles* *Archbishop of Canterbury*. And to speak truly of him, he had many singular Parts in Nature; he was an excellent Horseman, would Shoot well at a Mark, had singular Skill in Limning and Pictures, a good *Mathematician*, not unskilful in *Musick*, well read in Divinity, excellently in *History*, and no less in the *Laws* and *Statutes* of this Nation; he had a quick and sharp Conception, would Write his Mind singularly well, and in good Language and Stile, only he loved long *Parables*.

4 *Observations on the Life and*

rembeses. He would apprehend a Matter in difference betwixt Party and Party with great readines, and methodise a long Matter, or contract it in few Lines; insomuch as I have heard Sir *Robert Holborne* oft say, He had a quicker Conception, and would sooner understand a Case in *Law*, or with more Sharpness drive a Matter unto a Head, than any of his Privy Council; insomuch, that when the King was not at the *Council Table*, Sir *Robert* never cared to be there. He had also, amongst other his special Gifts, the Gift of Patience, insomuch, that if any offered him a long Discourse or Speech, he would with much Patience, and without any Interruption or Distaste, hear a Speech or Story out at length; but then he would expect the same Civility from others. He was a great Admirer of his Queen (if he dissembled not), very uxorious, seldom denying her any Request, and for her sake was very civil to the old Queen of *France* her Mother; the height of his Affection unto the Queen, fully you may perceive in those transcendent Expressions of his, in Letters sent unto her, the Copies whereof were intercepted at *Naseby*, and since Printed; his Conclusion being always,

*Thine Eternally,
or, Farewel Dear Heart.*

He

Death of King CHARLES. 5

He communicated his weightiest, and most private Designs unto her; nay, there was very little of any Moment, but She was advised with concerning it; and yet, what Reason the Queen knew to the contrary, I could not learn, but She more than once twitted him in the Teeth with dissembling, &c. A Quality which indeed he was as sufficiently Master of as any Man living, and which questionless he had partly from his Father, and partly from the Climate he was Born in, viz. Scotland. An indulgent Father, careful, if not too Covetous to have provided Patrimonies for his Children; for he would often say, when some beggarly Courtier propounded a *Monopoly* or *Project* unto him, affirming it would produce unto his Coffers so many Thousand Pounds a Year, or much increase his Revenue; he would presently send for the *Judges*, or some of his *Council at Law*, and if they affirmed and consented he might by *Law* grant the Thing desired, he often would say, *He knew no Reason, but that he might grant the Matter in question, sith the Thing it self was just and lawful, for he had many Children to provide for.* Before the Wars he was a great Enemy to Bloodshed, or wilful Murther, insomuch, that when one *Stamford* had in an Insurrection in *Fleetstreet*, killed a Man, he could by no Means be

and

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drawn

6 *Observations on the Life and*

drawn to Sign a Pardon unto him, though *Stamford* had been *Buckingham's* Favourite, and Countryman, and very great Intercession had been made unto him for his Pardon. Where he once really affected, he was ever a perfect Friend; witness his continuance of Affection unto all *Buckingham's* Friends after his Death, yea, until his own last decay of Fortune. He was a great Lover, if not too much, of the *Clergy*, and highly advanced them; insomuch, as under him they grew first Insolent, and then Saucy; and indeed, his Indulgence unto them did in part procure unto himself the People's Hate. Whether his Indulgence unto the *Clergy*, proceeded from a religious Affection rather to advance the Ways of Righteousness, or God's Cause, than his own private Designs, it hath been by many controverted; but by judicious Men adjudged, that his own Self Ends were therein more sought after than propagating the Gospel; so that he served himself by pretending to advance the *Clergy*: He erred extreamly in this one Business, when divers godly Christians in *Norfolk* deliver'd him a Petition against the Tyrant *Wren*, their Bishop; he sent for *Wren*, and bad him Answer it. Novelities in Doctrine he hated, as much as in Ceremony. He loved not greatly the Ancient Nobility or Gentry of this Nation;
but

Death of King CHARLES. 7

but did rather prefer Creatures of his own, or Father's making. How much he loved any of the Nobility or Gentry, but for his own Ends, he made it plainly appear at *Oxford*, where he procured sundry of the *English* Nobles, and many Gentlemen, Members of the *House of Commons*, to recede from the Parliament at *Westminster*, and convene at *Oxford*, where himself was; and after, that this Mock Parliament to satisfy his Desire, had convened and assembled, done what they could, and thereby engaged their Persons and Estates for him; yet because they would not in all Things comply with his Tyrannical Humour, in a Letter of his unto the Queen, he complains of them unto her, and said, *He was so troubled with a Mongrel Parliament, he could do nothing, &c.* This scornful Epithet, or Badge of Disgrace, was all the Reward any of those unfortunate Gentlemen had from him; but it was just they should be so paid their Wages, that in so trayterous a Way deserted the Parliament at *Westminster*, which sits to this Day, &c. He cared not much for the *Common-Law*, or very much for the *Long Gown-Men*; he learned that Disaffection of his from his Father *Femmy*, who could not endure the Lord Chief-Justice *Cook*, because he ever said the *Prerogative* was bounded by *Law*, and was limitable; but that Excellent Patriot

8 *Observations on the Life and*

Patriot was worsted for his dear Affection to his Country, by *Egerton* the Chancellor, who maintained the contrary; and was worthily as well rewarded by the old *Scot* for his Labour, *Femmy* taking the Great Seal from him before he was dead, yea, in a disgraceful Manner. The *Commonalty* of *England* he neither cared for, took much notice of, or much disrespected, holding this Opinion only, Because he was their King, they ought in Duty to serve him. The *Citizens* of *London*, though they much courted him with their Flatteries, and large Gifts, and in his latest Extremities relieved him with considerable Sums of Money, yea even at *Oxford* in Soap-Barrels; yet he slighted them, thought them ever too Rich, and intended for them a severe Revenge: Had he ever master'd the *Parliament*, he was advised, by one I well knew, to have demolished half the City; what he would have done had he been victorious, *God knows*. He would often say, *It was the Nursery of the present Rebellion*; for so he called the Wars, &c. and that the *Body of the City was too large for the Head*. I have heard it from the Mouths of many worthy Gentlemen, whose Hap it was to serve him in the late Wars, that they did believe, had he, viz. the King, by Arms conquered this *Parliament*, he would have proved the greatest Tyrant

Death of King CHARLES. 9

Tyrant the *English* Nation ever had to rule over them, and therefore they did still pray for a Reconcilement betwixt the *Parliament* and *Him*, but could never endure to hear he should conquer our Armies, &c. And so much in a manner dropp'd out from the Mouth of *Rupert*, who giving Command for executing some Things contrary to the *Laws*; and being acquainted with his Mistake, *Tush*, quoth he, *we will have no more Law in England henceforward but the Sword*. He had a natural Imperfection in his Speech, at sometimes could hardly get out a Word, yet at other Times he would speak freely and articulately; as the first Day of his coming before the *High Court of Justice*, where casually I heard him; there he stammered nothing at all, but spoke very distinctly, with much Courage and Magnanimity. As a Man he had his Imperfections, for he was very Covetous and Gripple, and sparing of his Treasure (Qualities nothing commendable in a King;) and if at any Time liberal, it was rather to the undeserving or boysterous Fellows, than well meriting; by how much the more Humbly any made their Addresses unto him, by so much the more was he Imperious, Lofty, and at a Distance with them; whereupon it most an end happened, that the *Impudent* and *Bold* were rewarded, and the *Virtuous* slighted;

slighted ; which Imperfection of his enforced a bold-spirited Courtier to say, *There was no Way to get any Boon from him, but by Impudence and Cajoling him with unbeseeming Language.* Yet he himself was never Obscene in his Speech, or affected it in others. I have only met with, or taken Notice of, two Passages, which argue him guilty of unbeseeming Language : First, In all or most of his Letters unto the Queen, he terms the *Parliament Rebels*, though they were lawfully convened, and not dissolved, or to be dissolved, without their own Consent ; but Time, and their *Victories*, acquainted him with more civil Language, and taught him to Style them a *Parliament*. In another Letter of his unto her, he calls the Lord General *Fairfax*, who was then the *Parliament's* General, their *Brutish* General ; a most uncivil Term and Epichet to bestow upon so brave a Man, so civil, so valiant, and so much a Gentleman as *Fairfax* was, and is ; assuredly the Progenitors of the Lord *Fairfax* were Gentlemen, and of good Estates then, and at what Time the Ancestors of the *Stuarts*, were but poor Stewards unto a Family in *Scotland* ; and what a Preferment it is now, or was some Three Hundred Years since, to be *Bailiff* or *Steward* unto a *Scottish* Family, let the whole World judge ; for this was the true Original of the
Rise

Death of King CHARLES. II

Rise and Growth of the Family of *Stuarts*, and no other; tho' since by Marriage they came to be Kings of *Scotland*, (as their own Chronicles relate). He did not greatly Court the Ladies, nor had he a lavish Affection unto many; he was manly and well fitted for Venereous Sports, yet rarely frequented illicide Beds; I do not hear of above One or Two natural Children he had, or left behind him. He had exquisite Judgment by the Eye, and Physiognomy, to discover the Virtuous from the Wanton: He honoured the Virtuous, and was very shy and choice in wandring those Ways, and when he did it, it was with much Cautiousness and Secrecy; nor did he prostitute his Affection, but unto those of exquisite Persons or Parts; and this the Queen well knew; nor did she wink at it. He had much of Self ends in all that he did, and a most difficult Thing it was to hold him close to his own Promise or Word; he was apt to recede, unless something therein appeared compliable, either unto his own Will, Profit, or Judgment; so that some Foreign Princes bestowed on him the Character of a most False Prince, and one that never kept his Word, unless for his own Advantage. Had his Judgment been as sound, as his Conception was quick and nimble, he had been a most accomplished Gentleman; and

and though in most dangerous Results, and extraordinary serious Consultations, and very material, either for State or Commonwealth, he would himself give the most solid Advice, and sound Reasons, why such or such a Thing should be so, or not so; yet was he most easily withdrawn from his own most wholesome and sound Advice or Resolutions; and with as much Facility drawn on, inclined, to embrace a far more unsafe, and nothing so wholesome a Counsel. He would argue Logically, and frame his Arguments Artificially; yet never almost had the Happiness to conclude or drive on a Design in his own Sense, but was ever baffled with meaner Capacities. He feared nothing in this World, or disdained any thing more than the Convention of a Parliament; the very Name was a Bugbear unto him; he was ever Refractory against the summoning of a Parliament, and as willingly would embrace an Opportunity to break it off: This his Averseness being well known to some grave Members, they contrived at last by Wit, and the Necessity of the Times, that his Hands were fast tyed up in granting a Triennial Sitting, or a Perpetuity as it were unto this present Parliament; a Thing he often blamed himself for Subscribing unto, and as often those who importuned him thereunto. And therefore

therefore I wonder at that Passage of his (if it was his, which I doubt of) in that Book published under his Name, and called *His PORTRAITURE*, wherein he maintains this Parliament was called as much by his own Choice and Inclination, as Advice of others; whereas it is manifestly known even unto all, it was only Necessity, and the Importunity of the *English*, who would not fight with the *Scots*, and this only Cause was it which gave Occasion for calling of this Parliament; the *Scots* at that present being possessed of *Newcastle*. For the Book it self, it maintains so many Contradictions unto those Things manifested by his own Letters, under his own Hands, unto the Queen, that I conceive the most part of it *Apocrypha*; the *Meditations* or *Psalms* wholly were added by others; some loose Papers he had, I do well know, but they were nothing so well methodised, but rather Papers intended after for the Press, or as it were a *Memorial* or *Diary*, than such a well couched Piece, and to so little Purpose. But it is answered by the learned *Milton*. He was seldom in the Times of War, seen to be sorrowful for the Slaughter of his People or Soldiers, or indeed any Thing else; whether by Nature or Custom his Heart was hardened, I leave for others to judge. When unfortunately the *Parliament* had lost

C

some

some of their Men in the *West*, at *Marlborough*, and the *Devizes*, and they brought in a miserable Condition, without Hose or Shoes, or scarce Cloaths, into *Oxford* as a Triumph, he was content to be a Spectator of their Calamities, but gave neither Order for their Relief, or Commands for ease of their Sufferings; nay, it was noted by some there present, he rejoiced in their sad Affliction: So afterwards, when *Hambden* was wounded, or near that time in *Buckinghamshire*, it happened a very valiant Soldier of the Parliaments side to be taken, stript stark naked, his Body being shot in many places, and his Shoulder broke; this poor Soul in this Condition and Pickle, was set on a poor lean Jade, and brought as a Triumph before the King, where he stood accompanied with many Nobles; it would have pitied any ones Heart, to have heard how this poor Man was reviled and upbraided by lewd People, even as he passed close by the King's Presence, who neither pitied the Man, rebuked the unruly People, or gave Order for cure of his Wounds; but *God* cur'd the Soldier instantly, for he died e'er he was Forty Paces from the King's Presence; and notwithstanding the Misery of the Man, and Sharpness of his Wounds, yet was the Greatness of his Spirit and Courage so undaunted, that he Rode very upright upon the poor Jade,

Jade, nothing daunted either at his own present Condition, or Presence of the King. It was observed, that a lewd Woman, as he pass'd by, calling him *Rebel*, he only look'd sternly at her, and said, *you Whore*; some Nobles seeing the Hard-heartedness of the King upon this sad Accident, and how little he valued those who either fought for or against him, upon this meer occasion deserted him, and came for *London*, &c.

Even the Looks and Gestures of *Princes* are observed, you may see, and several either good or ill Constructions grounded thereon. He was observed in his Diet to feed heartily, and would drink Wines at Meals freely, but not in excess: He was rather violent than moderate in Exercises; when he walked on Foot, he rather trotted than paced, he went so fast. He was nothing at all given to Luxury, was extream sober both in his Food and Apparel; in the latter whereof he might rather be said to go cleanly and neat, then gaudy or riotously; and as to the former, he rather loved sober, full and substantial Dishes, than Kickshaws, which the Extravagant Nobles feed for their Wantonness sake; though many times e'er they are satisfied with Curiosities in Diet, their Estates lye pawned for them. In the general he was not Vitious, and yet who e'er shall say he was Virtuous, extreamly Errs: He was.

a Medley betwixt Virtue and Vice: He was magnificent in some measure, and was the only Cause of the building that Miracle of Ships called the *Royal Sovereign*; and when some of his Nobles acquainted him with the vast Charge thereof, he replied, why should not he be admitted to build that Ship for his own Pleasure, and which might be upon occasion useful for Service of the *Kingdoms*, as well as some Nobles prodigally spent their *Patrimony* in riotous and ungodly Courses, nothing either for their Credits or Reputations, or any way beneficial to the *Kingdom*? It was wisely said of him at that time, *Every Man had his proper Vanity, and that was his, if the People accounted it so.* He was ill thought of by many, especially the *Puritans* then so called, for suffering the *Chappel* at *Somerset-house* to be built for the *Queen*, where *Mafs* was publickly said: Yet was he no *Papist*, or favoured any of their *Tenets*, nor do I remember any such thing was ever objected against him: My self was once there to gaze, whilst the *Priest* was at *High Mafs*, the *Sexton* and others thrust me out very uncivilly, for which I protested never to come there again.

The Actions of *Kings* and *Princes* are lookt upon with many Eyes, whereof some ever prove either squint or purblind: So long as we live in this World, our Conversation cannot

Death of King CHARLES. 17

cannot be with *Saints*, but with the Sons of *Adam*, who ever smell of some Corruptions. Many also have blamed him for writing unto the *Pope* when he was in *Spain*; others think ill of him for the many *Reprieves* he gave unto *Seminary Priests*, and Mr. *Pryn* sweats to purpose in aggravating his Offence thereby. Why he might not as well in a civil way write unto the *Pope*, as write and send his *Ambassador* to the great *Turk*, I know not; and for his Mercy to those *Priests*, who had not occasioned *Rebellion* in his *Dominions*, truly Charity bids me to make rather a good than ill Construction. And were not the *Common-Law* of this Nation more in force than that *Canon* of Scripture, those things could not be justified, putting Men to Death for *Religion*, or taking Orders beyond Sea, &c.

He was Ambitious, and disdained in his Youth to march with any of the *English* Ladies; and therefore upon hopes of a Marriage with the present King of *Spain's* Sister, Monday the 27th of Feb. 1622. he set forward for *Spain*, went first into *France*, and from thence with his high Thoughts passed the Mountains; neither had he Success in the Marriage desired, or did he get Honour by that Journey, although most magnificently entertained in *Spain*; some private Disgusts happened there and in that Voyage, inso-

much as he never, after his Return into *England*, much cared for the *Spaniard*, which he made publickly known in several Years of his Reign: He was accompanied to *Spain* with the Duke of *Buckingham*, one whom formerly he extreamly hated, but after that Journey as extreamly fancied, being his only great Favourite. People generally were nothing satisfied with that his Journey undertaken so rashly; yet many sober Men judged very well of the Marriage it self, and these did publickly aver, the *Spaniard* was Rich, and a brave Man, would not be troublesome unto us with unnecessary Visits, would ever bring Gold in his Pockets; was a People, with whom the *English* Merchants had a great and rich Trade, and with whose natural Conditions the *English* did pretty well sympathize; and for the *Infanta's* strictness in the *Roman Religion*, there was by many prudent Men very little question made, that it would produce any ill to this Nation, which now had been *Protestant* above 60 Years; and they did also consider that the *Prince* was very surely grounded in his own *Protestant* Faith, and that the *Common Law* would well provide for the multiplicity of *Priests*, who might presume to come upon her Account. The 27th of *March*, being Sunday 1625, King *James* died. All that whole Year a most furious Plague Afflicted the

Death of King CHARLES. 19

the City of *London*, there dying above Fifty Thousand People. Amongst those, whose Misfortune it was to abide in the City, during that Pestilent Contagion, my self was one, and therein beheld God's great Mercy unto me, being nothing at any time visited, though my Conversation was daily with the Infected: And I do well remember this Accident, that going in *July* 1625, about half an Hour after Six in the Morning to *St. Antholines* Church, I met only Three Persons in the way, and no more, from my House over-against *Strand-bridge*, till I came there; so few People were then alive, and the Streets so unfrequented.

In *June* 1625, *Mary*, Daughter of *Henry the Fourth*, King of *France*, came over, and was Married to the King the same Month: Several Constructions were made upon this Marriage with *France*, and many Disputations in private were had, whether She or the *Infanta* might have been better for this Nation. However the *Parliament*, in regard of the Sicknes, was translated to *Oxford*, *August* 1, 1625, and the 12th of the same dissolved; there are two main Reasons given for its Dissolution, one was, because the Duke of *Buckingham* his own Favorite, should not be questioned concerning King *James's* Death; and the second was, his Majesty made several Propositions unto the People, which they

they would not consent unto. That King *James* was really and absolutely poisoned by a Plaister, applied by *Buckingham's* Mother unto King *James* his Stomach, was evidently proved before a Committee : But whether *Buckingham* himself, or the late King, was guilty either in the Knowledge of, or Application of the Plaister, I could never learn. Many feared the King did know of it, and they gave this Reason ; because when the *Parliament* did order to question *Buckingham* for it, and had prepared their Charge or Articles, to present against him in the *House of Lords*, and to accuse him thereof, His Majesty, contrary to all Expectation, and as in Affront of both *Houses*, and in the *Upper-house*, when the Articles came up, gave *Buckingham* his Hand to kiss, carried him away with him, &c. This Action lost him the present *Parliaments* Affections ; even the most sober of his Friends held him very much overseen to deny a *Parliament Justice* in any matter whatsoever ; but in matter of Poyson, and the Party poysoned being his Father, in that to prohibit a due course, or a legal Proceeding against the Party suspected, it was to deny *Justice* with a refractory Hand. But at that time he was Lusty and Young, and in his Infancy of *Convening Parliaments*, thought to make himself sure ever after, or to master the *Commons of England*.
 There

Death of King CHARLES. 21

There is no Pen, how able soever, can take off the blemish that will ever hang on him, for falling out with his *Parliament*, because they questioned, how and by what means his Father came to his Death.

The second of *February* 1625, he was Crowned at *Westminster*: *William Laud* altered the old *Coronation Oath*, and framed another new. And in *March* following was a *Parliament* again summoned, and therein *Montague* questioned for *Popish* and *Arminian* Tenets; and *Buckingham* was again also put to it by the *Commons*. In time of this *Parliament* he sent for the *Bishops*, and blamed their backwardness, for that they did not inform him, how he might promote the Cause of the *Church*. Indeed, he did well know what fawning *Jacks* most of them were, and how easily he might with hopes of Profit win them to his side; they made up a good part of the *House of Lords* in number; here again the Houses of *Parliament* were troubled with *Buckingham* and *Bristol*, who was the wiser Man of the two, but had least Friends; these framed Bills, and accused each other of *Treason*; at that time most Men pitied *Bristol*, and thought him ill rewarded for all his Service in *Spain*, for it was conceived he acted not but according to Commission. In this *Parliament* he committed Sir *Dudley Diggs*, and Sir *John Elliot*, Members of the *House of Commons*,

Commons, because they most rigorously had managed an Accufation against *Buckingham*: An high Affront it was to the *Parliament*, and a great Breach of Priviledge to commit a Member of that *House*, without the *House* consent; that Matter was much refented and very ill taken. By those and other his high Miscarriages unto both *Houses*, they began to mistrust him; many gave sad Conjectures of his Actions, and thought that in the end he would either have or lose all. *June 15, 1626*, he dissolves the *Parliament*, only because they should not prosecute *Buckingham*. An Argument of sound Affection unto his Favourite, to hazard the love of Millions only for him; but a deep Imprudence and high Oversight, to slight a whole *Nation* for love only of one Man, and he but of Yesterday; or a new Creature, of but his Father's stamping, and his own continuing.

It was in *August* this Year, that *Tilly* overthrew his Uncle the *King* of *Denmark* in a pitcht Field; how the *King* carried the business with his Uncle, or what Treasure he promised to supply him with, and did not perform, I know not. Sure I am, the old *King*, after this Fight, could never endure our *King*, but would swear he endeavoured what in him lay to make him lose his *Kingdom*; this I had from the Mouth of *Dr. M.*

who.

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who heard the *King of Denmark* speak what I write.

In Anno 1627, he set forth Men and Ships to the *Ile of Rhe* in *France*, under the Conduct of *Buckingham*; we lost our best Men in that scurvy Design, who were no better than butchered by the *French*, through the Indiscretion of some that had principal Command therein. But give me leave before I proceed farther, to relate what I had from the Mouth of an eminent Collonel, employed in that successless Expedition, and one of the Council of War, and a sworn Enemy to the *Duke. Buckingham* I well know was extreemly blamed about the Loss of our Men, the Day of their Retreat unto the Ships: The matter was thus carried: The Night before the Retreat, the Duke called a Council of War, and there shewed them the Necessity of their Retreat the next Day, and that himself in *Martial Discipline* being wholly unexperienced, he left the managing of the next Days *Action* to the ordering of the Council of War, offering the Service of his own Person unto any hazard whatever as far as any private Soldier. The Council committed the Management of their Retreat, by a free consent, unto old Sir *William Courtney*, a heavy dull covetous old Man, who having been Twenty or Thirty Years a private Captain in *Holland*, was, by Sir *John Burrows*

Burrows means, made Colonel in that Expedition; and *Burrows* being now dead, and *Courtney* the oldest Colonel, it was referred unto him how with Safety to bring off our Men: But he either through want of Judgment, or Forgetfulness, having not sufficiently provided for Security of our Rear, our Men were most unfortunately many of them cut in pieces; and had not Sir *Pierce Crosby* with 800 *Irish* made good the Retreat, all our Men had been lost; *Courtney* himself fell into a Salt-pan in the Defeat, and was saved by means of his Man *Anthony's* crying, O *save my Captain*; but the poor Fellow lost his own Life, and saved his Master's.

A Bullet by chance, during their stay in that *Island*, was shot at the said *Courtney*, and he having a piece of *Gold* of Twenty One Shillings Price in his *Fob*, the Bullet light there, bent the *Gold*, and so he was preserved; *Courtney*, at his return, shewed me the *Gold*, and told me the Story. The King hearing of our Loss at the *Isle of Rhe*, and landing of the Duke, instead of being Angry at the Loss of so many gallant Men, or calling him to account, sent to comfort the Duke, desiring that he should not be troubled at the Loss, for the Chance of *War* was casual.

And now we are speaking of *Rochell*, let me acquaint the World, that his Majesty was

was the sole cause of its losing, for he lent the *King of France* Eight or Ten of his own *Navy*, by which means the *Rochellers* Ships were Sunk and Destroyed, who before were ever able to relieve themselves with their own Ships, against all Opposition the *Kings of France* could make. And that it may appear, he willingly lent these Ships unto the *French*, and was not forced unto it by *Buckingham*, as many have affirmed; I will relate this Passage, perhaps not vulgarly known. Sir *John Pennington*, being *Vice-Admiral*, had Commission to carry Eight or more Royal Ships into *France*; when he arrived there, the *French* acquainted him the Ships were to serve the *French King* against the *Rochellers*, and if that he the said Sir *John* would serve in that Employment, he should be honourably rewarded; but this gallant Man being truly *English*, scorned the Proffer, and utterly refused the Employment, and e'er he would resign the Ships unto the *French*, came privately himself unto the King, and informed the King of the *French* intentions against *Rochel*: But the King said only thus much; *Pennington* go and deliver your Ships, and leave them in *France*, and then gave him a particular or private Warrant under his own Hand for his Discharge, &c. He had much ado to get his Ships again from the *French*, and then was enforced to send

Sir *John Pennington* amongst the *French*, who seized above a Hundred *French* Ships, and kept them until ours were delivered. One thing is observable, that we had only two Sailors assisted against *Rochel* in our Ships, and no more; this I relate in Honour of the Seamen.

The Destruction of *Rochel* is wholly laid upon our King's Score, as well and justly it may be, to his eternal Dishonour and Blemish; for had he not furnished the *French* with Ships, *Rochel* could not have been taken as it was: And verily I believe the sad Groans and Miseries of those poor *Protestants* poured out unto Almighty God in their height of Calamities against our King, were extreme instrumental in hastening down the Anger of God against the late King. However, this Action of his lost him the love of the *Protestant* Princes in all Parts of the World, and his own Subjects could after that Action never well brook him, but daily were alienated in their Affection from him, supposing him either not well grounded in the *Protestant Faith*, or else a meer State-Jugler and no other. I know some have accused *Buckingham* to be Instrumental about the lending those Ships; it's possible he was: However in *March* 1627, a Parliament was Summoned again, *Buckingham* Articled against, and in *June* Prorogued until *October*,
after

after in *March* dissolved, because *William Laud* was remonstrated against by the Commons, his Ruin labour'd. There were also Articles exhibited against *Buckingham* in the Parliament, but the latter of the two, viz. *Buckingham*, was stabb'd the 23d of *August* 1628, he being ready to go unto Sea for Relief of *Rochel*, then besieged. Many complained of the King in this his various Action about *Rochel*, viz. in first aiding the *French* to destroy the *Rochellers* Ships, then to take part with them against the King of *France*; but to no purpose. Some therefore compared him to a *Black Witch*, whom they say can bewitch and hurt Cattle, but hath no Ability to cure them again: It was an Act of great Inconstancy, and much Dishonour to himself and whole Nation, tho' the Nation had no hand in it. When first the News was brought unto the King of *Buckingham's* Death, he was at a Sermon, or in a Church, or at Service; he did not seem much troubled at the News, but stay'd out the Sermon with much Patience, only gave *Maxwell* present Directions to seize the Duke's Cabinet, wherein his Letters and private Instructions were. All Men generally, except a few Court *Parasites*, were glad of *Buckingham's* Death; yet nothing was bettered in the Court or Commonwealth after his Death; which moved many to affirm,

firm, That all the Misgovernments in the Realm proceeded not from *Buckingham's* ill Advice, but most from the corrupt and depraved Nature of the King's own Haste. Sith I am upon the Death of *Buckingham*, I shall relate a true Story of his being admonished often of the manner of his Death he should dye, in this manner.

An aged Gentleman, one *Parker*, as I remember, having formerly belonged unto the Duke, or of great Acquaintance with the Duke's Father, and now retired, had a *Dæmon* appeared several times unto him, in the Shape or Image of Sir *George Villiers* the Duke's Father. This *Dæmon* walked many times in *Parker's* Bed-Chamber, without any Action of Terror, Noise, Hurt, or Speech; but at last one Night broke out into these Words: 'Mr. *Parker*, I know you loved me formerly, and my Son *George* at this Time very well; I would have you go from me, you know me very well to be his Father, old Sir *George Villiers* of *Leicestershire*, and from me acquaint him with these and these Particulars, &c. And that he above all refrain the Counsel and Company of such and such, whom he then nominated, or else he will come to Destruction, and that suddenly". *Parker* did partly, though a very discreet Man, imagine he himself was in a Dream all this Time, and being unwilling

Death of King CHARLES. 29

willing to proceed upon no better Grounds, forbare addressing himself to the Duke; for he conceived if he should acquaint the Duke with the Words of his Father, and the Manner of his Appearance unto him, (such Apparitions being not usual) that he should be laughed at, and thought to dote, being he was aged. Some few Nights passed without further Trouble to the old Man; but not very many Nights after, old Sir *George Villiers* appeared again, walked quick and furiously in the Room, seemed angry with *Mr. Parker*, and at last said, ' *Mr. Parker*, I ' thought you had been my Friend so much, ' and loved my Son *George* so well, that you ' would have acquainted him with what I ' desired, but yet I know that you have not ' done it: By all the Friendship that ever ' was betwixt you and me, and the great ' Respect you bear my Son, I desire you to ' deliver what I formerly commanded you ' unto my Son'. The old Man seeing himself thus solicited in this manner, promised the *Dæmon* he would; but first argued it thus: That the Duke was not easy to be spoke withal, and that he would account him a vain Man to come with such a Message from the Dead; nor did he conceive the Duke would give any Credit unto him: Whereunto the *Dæmon* thus answered; ' If ' he will not believe you have this Discourse

30 *Observations on the Life and*

‘ from me, tell him of such a Secret, (and
‘ named it) which he knows none in the
‘ World ever knew but my self and he’.
Mr. Parker being now well satisfied, that he
was not asleep, or that the Apparition was
a vain Delusion, took a fit Opportunity
therefore, and seriously acquainted the Duke
with his Father’s Words, and the manner of
his Apparition. The Duke heartily laughed
at the Relation, which put old *Parker* to a
stand; but at last he assumed Courage, and
told the Duke, that he acquainted his Fa-
ther’s Ghost with what he now found to be
true, *viz.* Scorn and Derision; but my
Lord, saith he, your Father bad me acquaint
you by this Token, and he said it was such
as none in the World but your two selves
did yet know. Hereat the Duke was ama-
zed and much astonished, but took no warn-
ing or notice thereof, keeping the same
Company still, advising with such Counsel-
lors, and performing such Actions, as his
Father by *Parker* countermanded. Shortly
after, old Sir *George Villiers*, in a very quiet
but sorrowful Posture, appears again unto
Mr. Parker, and said, ‘ *Mr. Parker*, I know
‘ you delivered my Words unto *George* my
‘ Son; I thank you for so doing, but he
‘ slighted them; and now I only request
‘ this more at your Hands, that once again
‘ you repair unto my Son, and tell him,

‘ If

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' If he will not amend, and follow the
' Counsel I have given him, this Knife or
' Dagger (and with that he pulled a Knife
' or Dagger from under his Gown) shall
' end him; and do you Mr. *Parker* set your
' House in Order, for you shall die at such
' a Time'. Mr. *Parker* once more engaged,
though very unwillingly, to acquaint the
Duke with this last Message, and so did;
but the Duke desired him to trouble him no
further with such Messages and Dreams,
told him he perceived he was now an old
Man, and doted. And within a Month af-
ter meeting Mr. *Parker* on *Lambeth-Bridge*,
Now, Mr. *Parker*, *what say you of your Dream?*
Who only returned, Sir, *I wish it may never*
have Success, &c. But within Six Weeks af-
ter, he was stabb'd with a Knife, according
to his Father's Admonition before-hand;
and Mr. *Parker* died soon after he had seen
the Dream or Vision performed.

The 29th of *May*, 1630, being *Saturday*,
near unto One in the Afternoon, the pre-
sent King of *Scotland* was born. The next
Day the King came to *Paul's-Cross*, to give
God Thanks for the Birth of his Son, where
were presented unto him these Verses:

*Rex ubi Paulinias accessit gratus ad aras,
Immicuit medio lucida stella polo.*

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*Dic divina mihi tractans anigmata cæli,
Hæc oriens nobis, quid sibi stella velit?
Magnus in occiduo princeps modo nascitur orbe,
Moxque sub eclipsi regna orientis erunt.*

About *May*, 1633, he went into *Scotland*, and was *Crowned* there the 18th of *June*, ☉ in 7° ☍, ☿ in 7° ♀. In *July* he had a dangerous *Passage* from *Brunt-Island*, and hardly escaped *Drowning*: Some of his *Houſhold-Stuff* or *Plate* was lost.

In 1634, he was infinitely troubled with *Faction* in his *Court*, which much displeased him; but by little and little he put all *Things* into *Order* again. Then also he levied a general great *Tax* upon the whole *Kingdom*, vulgarly called *Ship-money*, because it was pretended it was for *Maintenance* of the *Navy*; and truly much of it was that *Way* expended, and the *Sailors* well paid their *Wages*; which occasioned for two *Years* together a good *Fleet* of *Royal Ships* to be set forth, much for the *Honour* of the *Nation*.

This *Ship-money* was generally disliked, being a mere *Innovation*, and a cleanly *Trick* to poll the *Subjects*, and cheat them into an *Annual Payment*. My self was then a *Collector* for it in the *Place* I lived in; I remember my *Proportion* was 22 *Shillings*, and no more; If we compare the *Times* then,

then, and the present in which I now live, you shall see great Difference even in *Assessments*, the Necessity of maintaining our Armies requiring it; for now my Annual Payments to the Soldiery are very near or more than 20 Pounds, my Estate being no way greater than formerly: Against this *Ship-money* many gallant Men opposed, and at last in *Parliament* it was voted down.

In *July* 1637, viz. 23d Day, there was great Disturbance in *Edinburgh*, about a new *Service-Book* endeavoured to be obtruded on the *Scots* by the *King* and *Canterbury*: I have heard, an old Woman begun the Quarrel by casting her Stool at the Priest, when he read the *Service-Book*. Many very modest Divines exceedingly blame both the *King* and *Canterbury* for that Book; it admitted unto the People, as I remember, the *Communion* but in one Kind; however, by the Prudence of some grave Men, being then Privy-Counsellors in *Scotland*, Matters were slubbered over all that Winter in *Scotland*; but in *May*, or *April*, new Tumults arose, and truly I may almost say, that that corrupt *Common-Prayer-Book* was the sole and whole Occasion of all the Miseries and Wars that since that Time have happened in both Nations. Had his Majesty first endeavoured the Imposition of that lame Book upon the *English*, most Men did believe we had swallowed

lowed it, and then the *Scots* must have done it afterward; for the Clergy at that Time generally were such idle and lazy Lubbers, and so pamper'd with Court Preferment, and Places Temporal in every Shire of *England*, and such flattering Sycophants, that doubtless the great Hand of God was in it, that those rude *Scots* first broke the Ice, and taught us the Way to expel an insulting Priesthood, and to resist the King; he endeavouring by unwarrantable Means to intrude things contrary to the Divine Law of Almighty God upon our Consciences.

In *Anno* 1638, the Queen Mother of *France*, and Mother unto the *English* Queen, Widow of *Henry* the Fourth, King of *France*, landed in *England*, and came unto *London* the 31st of *October*. She was very meanly accompanied, and few of Quality attending her: The King most humanly and generously receives and entertains her, though all Men were extremely against it; for it was observed, that where-ever, or unto what Country this miserable old Queen came, there followed immediately after her either the Plague, War, Famine, or one Misfortune or other: Strange it is unto me, how she could be so fatal to any Land she entred into. True it is, and I do very well know, that some People born under an unfortunate Constellation of Heaven (with-

out

England and

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out this, that they live above Nature, and live wholly in the Spirit) are so extreme unsuccessful in every thing they undertake, that let them use the greatest Industry they can to be rich, all will not amount to obtain a poor Living, though they are assisted not only with a good Stock of Money to begin their Profession with, but have also many very profitable and assisting Friends, and Means for their better Encouragement and Furtherance. It is very possible, that such like ill Fortune from her Infancy might attend this old Queen, as to be thought an unlucky Presage of what Mischief presently followed her in those Countries she resided in.

In November, Proclamation was made to dissolve the great Assembly in Scotland, but to little purpose; for the Scots have this Privilege belonging unto them, That where, and when they please, to obey no *Edicts* or *Commands* of their Kings, except those *Edicts* fancy their own Humours. This Proclamation was laughed at, and slighted by the Scots, who made it appear they were in good earnest, and began to raise an Army for their own Defence, by no means enduring the half *Popish Common-Prayer-Book*. This raising of an Army by the Scots, in Opposition of the *Common-Prayer-Book*, made our *Prelates prick up their Ears*, and the
lazy

lazy Bishops most of all, who convened, and raised amongst their own *Levitical Tribe* great Sums of Money towards the Maintenance of an Army against the *Scots*, whom they now hated worse than *Turks*. Several particular Men are summoned to appear at Court, and enforced to lend vast Sums of Money towards the Maintenance of an Army. I have heard some affirm, the King had in his Coffers at that Time above Six Hundred Thousand Pounds : No great Sum for so provident a Prince, and such large Incomes as he had.

In or about the 27th of *March*, 1639, the King set forward towards *Scotland*, his Army followed immediately, the Earl of *Arundel* being made General, a Man of great Nobility, Courage, and Resolution, and one whose Ancestors had been Generals several Times against the *Scots* with excellent Success. There attended the King in this Expedition most of the Nobility of this Nation, but with great Unwillingness ; for the *English* and *Scots* having now lived like Brethren, or Natives, or People of one Nation, one amongst another for almost Forty Years, and having intermarried one with another, both the Nobility or Gentry, and others, they thought it a very strange thing, and not lawful or convenient, that this Nation should now take up Arms, and engage

engage against the *Scots*, only to satisfy the insatiable Lust of a few domineering *Priests*, and half *Popish Bishops*; as also of an *obstinate King*, wholly led by the Nose by these *Snaf-fling Priests*. The Common Soldier was nothing well pleased, and marched most unwillingly upon this Service. At last both Armies, for many Days, accosted each other; yet I never heard of so much as one *Louse* killed by either Army; the *Scots* being very tender of provoking the *English*, and they as willing to give no Offence unto the *Scots*. In *June* of that Year a Peace was concluded betwixt both Nations, the *English* Nobility much desiring and furthering it.

The King himself was most greedy above all Men of this *Union* with the *Scots*, as will appear by this ensuing Story: That Day which was assigned for certain of the *English* Nobility and *Scotish* to treat about those Articles of Agreement or Pacification the *Scotish* Nobility were to produce; the Nobles of each Nation being set, the Earl of *Arundel* began with much Gravity to rebuke the *Scots* for their Unadvisedness and Rebellion in raising their Army against their Lawful King, and disturbing the Peace of both Nations; and yet he commended the Good-Nature of the King, who was, notwithstanding

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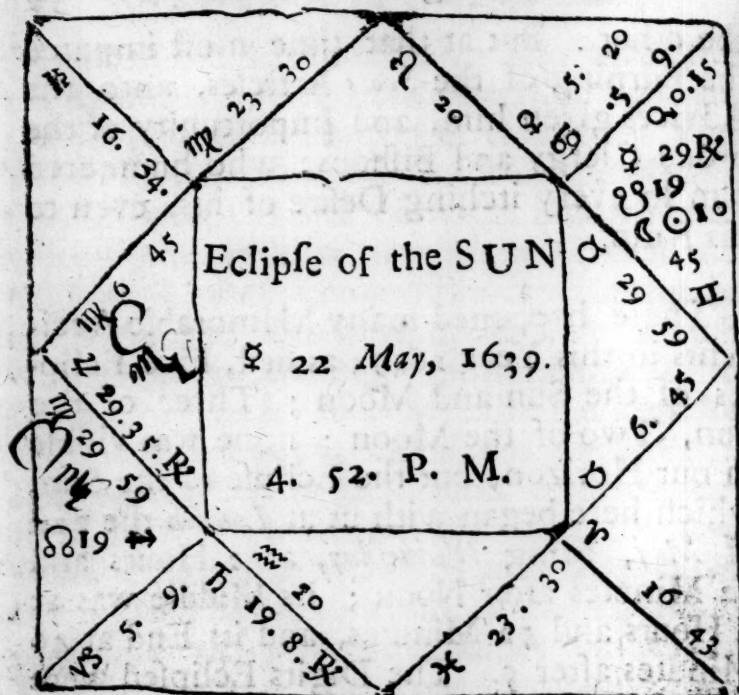
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ing their high Provocations and Misdemeanors, very inclinable to hear their just Grievances, and to that Purpose had appointed himself, being General of the *English* Army, and some other select Nobles of his Council, to meet them that Day, to treat with them, and to hear their Grievances, and what they could say for themselves. This gallant Man was proceeding further in his Speech, and aggravating the *Scots* Offences, when, lo, unexpectedly his Majesty enter'd the Room, called for the Articles the *Scots* desired to be ratified, or consented unto, read them scarce over, but took Pen and Ink immediately, and signed them, without ever advising with any of his Council; which so displeased the Nobility of the *English* Nation, that the very next Day after Signing the *Scots* Articles, they all hastened Home to their own Habitations, the King staying behind, and for his daily Exercise, played at a scurvy Game called *Pigeon-Holes*, or *Nine-Pins*; his fellow Gamesters also were equal to the Game, viz. Lackeys, Pages, and such others, *ejusdem generis*. He again no sooner came to *London*, but as I remember, caused those Articles to be burned by the Common Hangman; making himself as ridiculous in doing the one, as he was reputed weak and simple of Judgment in doing the

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the other : But at that time most imputed the Burning of the *Scots* Articles, unto the Advices given him, and Importunity of the proud Clergy and Bishops, who humoured him in every itching Desire of his, even to his Ruin.

There happened many Memorable Accidents in this Year 1639 ; as first, Five Eclipses of the Sun and Moon ; Three of the Sun, Two of the Moon ; none was visible in our Horizon, but the Eclipse of the Sun, which here began with us at *London* the 22d of *May*, being *Wednesday*, at 3 Hours and 52 Minutes after Noon ; its Middle was at 4 Hours and 52 Minutes, and its End at 46 Minutes after 5. The Digits Eclipsed were 8. 51 Minutes, 41 Seconds ; the whole Time of its Continuance was 1 Hour, and 54 Minutes of Time ; The Scheme of Heaven follows.



His Majesty was in the Field against the Scots at the very Time of the Eclipse; and some that were there with him said, *They felt not a more sharp cold Day in all their Lives than that was, the Season of the Year, and Height of the Sun consider'd.* I'll meddle little with the Prognostick Part of this Eclipse, yet I might tell you, that *Mercury*, at the Time of the Beginning of the Eclipse, represented the *Clergy*, and he was retrograde near to *Conjunction* with *Mars*, one ill Omen unto the *Clergy*: At the Middle of the Eclipse

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clipse the *Moon* was their Significator, and she combust and near the *Dragon's Tail*, which signified much Calamity unto the Priests. This Eclipse signified unto the King much Treachery and Damage by his Friends the *Scots*; the Degree eclipsed was in the opposite Degree, almost of the *Sun* in his Radix. As this Eclipse shewed his Troubles, or their Beginning; so the *Moon* her Eclipse in 8 ♄ in 1648, ended his Afflictions, &c.

The Effects of this Eclipse had most Influence upon the King of *Spain*, it falling even in the very Degree of the Seventh House; so that upon the 11th or 12th of *October*, 1639, upon our *English* Coast, and under our Noses, almost in our Harbour, the *Hollander* burnt and sunk a great Navy of his, with many miserable Souls in the Navy, which were to be landed in *Flanders*. I know some have not stuck to affirm, that the Eight Thousand Men, transported in the *Spanish* Navy, were intended to have been landed here in Assistance of his Majesty; but it was a meer Untruth; for who could have hinder'd their Landing in *Kent*, if his Majesty had commanded it? Sure I am, the *Spaniard* took it ill at his Majesty's Hand, that he suffered them to Perish so near our Harbour; they also took Exception, that his Majesty having promised them Ammunition and Powder, which it seems

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they

they wanted, it came not at the Place for them, either by neglect or treachery of our Officers, until they were worsted. The Truth of the Story of these Eight Thousand *Spaniards* in the Navy was thus: There was a Part of that Countrey where the *Walloons* inhabit, under the Dominion of the King of *Spain*, in the *Netherlands*, which was taken Notice to be very disaffected unto him; now upon landing these amongst the *Walloons*, so many of that People were to have been transported into *Spain*, &c. When his Majesty first heard of the *Spanish* and *Dutch* Fleet, and their near approach, he said to one standing by him, *I would I were well rid of both Navies*. To speak the Truth of him, either as he was Virtuous or Vicious, is not to wrong him; but in every trivial Miscarriage to make him the Author of it, I hold it barbarous, and not the Part of an honest moral Man.

In this memorable Year, the *Scots*, by Act amongst themselves, thrust out all Bishops; who after came sneaking hither, and had by *Canterbury's* Means large and plentiful Exhibitions for their Maintenance. His Majesty took the Expulsion of the Bishops so ill, as that he resolved to check the Sawciness of the *Scots*, his dear Country-men, and caused their Trade with us to be prohibited, and their Ships to be seized; which

so

so enraged the *Scotish* Nation, that they were again in 1640 in Arms; the King summons a Parliament in *April* about the *Scots*, which Parliament would not give a Farthing unto him towards Maintenance of his intended Army against the *Scots*; therefore in *May* he dissolves the Parliament; which gave great Discontent all over the Nation, and great Encouragement unto the *Scots*; whereupon their Army was suddenly ready, and their Presumption such, as without Invitation, they the 17th of *August*, 1640, entred *England*. The King prepares an Army of *English* to resist them; but such was the general Inclination even of the Common Soldiers, and so great an Odium or Hatred was cast upon *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that nothing would serve the Common Soldiers but a Parliament; not a Man of the *English* would fight against the *Scots*, who were now crept into the strong Town of *Newcastle*; our Soldiers were mutinous, the Officers generally disaffected to the Service; in some Countries the new raised Soldiers slew their Officers, and would not go: All these Commotions moved the King little to desist from the War, being continually furthered by the Bishops and Clergy, who in their Convocation gave a large Benevolence towards the Maintenance of those Wars, and commanded their Tribes
in

in their several Pulpits to inveigh, and cry aloud against the Prophane *Scots*, and to perswade the People to assist as willingly as against Infidels or *Turks*. His Majesty again commanded the Nobility to attend him in this *Northern Expedition*, who leisurely, and rather unseasonably or unwillingly, than otherways, attended him at *York*.

All Men knew this War was promoted by the Clergy, whom the Nobility began to disdain and scorn, and the Gentry and Yeomanry of *England* extreemly to hate; for at this present Time the High Commission-Court, and other Bawdy Courts, did most horrible Injustice against the Persons and Estates of any Gentleman, who by Misfortune came thither; there was also one *Wrenn*, Bishop of *Norwich*, born in *London*, a Fellow whose Father sold Babies and such Pedlary-Ware in *Cheapside*: This Fellow very peremptorily one Day, as he sat in Judicature in the High Commission-Court, said openly, He hoped to live to see the Time, when a Master of Arts, or a Minister, should be as good a Man as any *Jack* Gentleman in *England*. And verily the Pride of this sawcy Citizen's Son, hath been one main Cause of the Ruin of the Clergy. Concerning this *Wrenn*, I know *Canterbury* preferred him, and brought him to those Ecclesiastical Advancements in Court and Church, which he enjoyed;

joyed ; I do also know, and have heard it from some who waited on *Canterbury* in his Chamber, that he would oft say, that the rash Actions and unwarrantable Proceedings of this *Wrenn* would undo the Clergy ; but in regard he had been the sole Means of his Advancement, he could not well do any Act prejudicial against him, but it would redound to the dishonour of himself, and the Clergy in general ; also he had many Reluctancies in himself, for preferring so unworthy a scornful Fellow, who proved the Scandal and Scorn of Church-men, and an extraordinary Plague to the whole Nation : For upon his plaguing and punishing many godly Clothiers in the Countries of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, they were inforced to leave their native Country, and betake Themselves and Families into the *United Provinces*, where they have taught the *Dutch* the Art and Manufacture of Cloathing, even to the utter Impoverishment of this whole Nation, &c. and yet this wretched *Wrenn* lives, &c.

As I remember, near upon, or in this Year 1639, or 1640, the Citizens of *London* were miserably abused by a beggarly Knight, one Sir *Phillips* of *Ireland*, who exhibited his Bill against them, for certain Misdemeanors pretended to be committed by some of their Sub-Officers in *Ireland*, about the Parts of *London-Derry*. True it is, the Citizens of *London* very gallantly,

gallantly, about the Coming in of King *James*, or not long after, sent Colonies of their own in great Numbers, and at their own extreme great Charges, to settle a Civil Plantation in the *North of Ireland*; they had a large Patent from King *James*, and many Privileges granted unto them for their so doing and planting; above 30 Years they had quietly possessed their own Lands there, had built many beautiful Market-Towns, one or more City or Cities, many Churches in the Territories assigned them; but near these Years of 1639, or 1640, this Sir *Phillips* demanding some unreasonable Things of the Citizens, and being denied them, he in Malice exhibits his Bill for Misdemeanors of their Officers, against the *Londoners* in the Star-Chamber, brought the Cause unto a Hearing, the Court of Star-Chamber fined the *Londoners* deeply, adjudged their Plantations forfeited to the King, who as eagerly and greedily swallowed them for his own. This very Act in or near this Exigence of Time, so embittered the Spirits of the Citizens, that although they were singularly invited for Loan of Moneys, and had as great Plenty in their Possessions as ever, yet would not contribute any Assistance or Money against the *Scots*, or Advance of his Majesty in this his *Scotish* Expedition. And though I do not attribute these Casualties and Los-

ses of the Cities, to be derived or caused from the Eclipse of 1639, although the Eclipse was in *Gemini*, which Sign is the Ascendant of *London*; yet certainly, that Eclipse did in a natural Way threaten or portend much Damage unto them, and did manifest the Casualties, but was not the Cause.

There was at last a Cessation of Arms by Consent of both Parties, *Scots* and *English*; some petty Scuffling there was to no Purpose: The King, when he saw no other Means could be thought on for to serve his Turn, and that the Common Soldier unanimously refused Engaging with the *Scots*, by the constant and earnest Desire of the *English* Nobility, which attended him, he with much Unwillingness at length was content to give Summons for another Parliament to be convened the Third Day of *November* 1640. But you must understand in the meanwhile, when the King saw he could no ways Engage the *English* against the *Scots*, he had sent unto *Ireland* for the then present Lord Deputy, the Earl of *Strafford*, formerly Sir *Thomas Wentworth*, a *Yorkshire* Gentleman by Birth, and one who had formerly been a great Stickler against him, until poisoned with Court-Preferment, he turned Royalist, and so was made Lord Deputy of *Ireland*; a Man of the rarest Parts and deepest Judgment of any *Englishman* living; I say, he sent
for

for this *Strafford* to consult with him about composing these emergent Differences; *Strafford* advises with *Canterbury*, all to little purpose, for the Bishop was a very Ass in any thing but Church-matters; the Hand of Providence now going along with the Parliament and Common-wealth, who became Masters of the Affections of all Publick-spirited People, the King daily declining. In April 1641, the Parliament accuse *Strafford* for several Misdemeanors, Treasons, Tyrannies, &c. against the Commonwealth, during his Government in *Ireland*; the Parliament follow it so lustily, that notwithstanding *Strafford* spoke and defended himself as well as any mortal Man in the World could do, yet he was found guilty, had his Sentence to die, and did die. *Tho.* Earl of *Arundel* being Lord High Steward, the King signed the Warrant for his Death, either by Himself or Commissioners: Thus died *Strafford*, the wisest Politician this Nation ever bred.

All Men accuse the King for his Falseness and Cowardise unto this Man, who being satisfied in his own Conscience, that *Strafford* was not guilty of Treason or Death, but only of Misdemeanors, yet signed a Warrant, either under his own Hand, or by Commissioners; some there are who do say, with the same Pen, and at the same Time, he signed

signed the Warrant against *Strafford*, and also the Act for a Triennial or Perpetual Parliament, which should not be dissolved without Consent of both Houses. Many affirm, the Queen procured him to do both those Things, others impute it to *Hamilton*: It matters not who did it, or persuaded him, it was his Ruin, &c.

The Matter is not great, who invited the *Scots* into *England*; some thought *Pim*, *Hambden*, and several other Gentlemen were instrumental; it's very like it was true, and that the King knew as much, but could not remedy it. The Parliament however in Policy and Judgment, gave the *Scots* a round Sum of Money for their Losses, and ordered them to depart this Kingdom, which they did; so that in *August* 1641, the King went into *Scotland* purposely to pacify and compose the present threatening Differences there.

In the same Month of *August* 1641, I beheld the Old Queen-Mother of *France* departing from *London*, in Company of *Thomas Earl of Arundel*; a sad Spectacle of Mortality it was, and produced Tears from mine Eyes, and many other Beholders, to see an Aged lean decrepid poor Queen, ready for her Grave, necessitated to depart hence, having no Place of Residence in this World left her; but where the Courtesy of her hard

Fortune assigned it ; She had been the only stately and magnificent Woman of *Europe* ; Wife to the greatest King ever lived in *France*, Mother unto one King and unto two Queens. The King cared not much for the Earl of *Arundel*, being he was of a severe and grave Nature, could not endure Court-Novelties or Flatterers, was potent in Allies, &c. But there was one Thing or Cause mainly above the rest, and that was, because the Earl of *Arundel* being Lord High Steward and Judge in *Strafford's* Tryal, gave his Voice that he was Guilty of Treason, &c. The Earl also had but a few Years before given the King a touch of his own great Heart, and the King's Unthankfulness unto him and his Family ; the Case was thus : A Priest pretends the King had a Right in a Rectory the Earl challenged for his, and had procured *Canterbury* for his Friend and Second ; the Matter had many Debates, for *Arundel* was no Fool, but stood stoutly for his Right ; *Canterbury* was as violent for the Priest, and had procured the King to take Cognizance, or hear the Matter ; the King upon some flight Evidence maintained it was his, viz. belonged to the Crown ; the Earl seeing the Obstinateness of the King, and his Siding with a petty Priest against him, and his proper Right, out of the Greatness of his Heart, said, Sir, *This Rectory was an Appendant unto*
such

Death of King CHARLES. 51

such or such a Mannor of mine, until my Grandfather (unfortunately) lost both his Life and Seventeen Lordships more, for the Love he bore to your Grandmother. This was a smart Speech, and home to purpose ; it so astonish'd the King, that he reply'd pretty mildly : *My Lord, I would not have you think that so poor a Thing as this Rectory or Thing in question shall stand in Competition betwixt my Respect unto you and your Family, which I know to be deserving, &c.* After that Time the Earl little liked the King's Actions, and therefore took this opportune Occasion of going away with the Queen-Mother ; and when one said unto him, his Majesty would miss him ; *It's an ill Dog* (said the Earl) *that's not worth Whistling ; and though he is a King, he will find Arundel's Affection unto him would not have been inconsiderable, &c.* Some few Years since, this Earl died at Padua, being the last Man of the English Nation, that maintained the Gravity and Port of the ancient Nobility ; a great Lover of Antiquities, and of the English Nation ; he brought over the New Way of Building with Brick in the City, greatly to the Safety of the City, and Preservation of the Wood of this Nation. He was a great Patron of decayed Gentry ; and being Lord High-Marshal of England, carried too stri& an Hand against the Yeomanry and Commonalty ; for which he was nothing beloved, but rather hated of

them : However, the Gentry and Nobility owe much unto his Memory.

In *October* 1641, the *Irish* unanimously rebel and massacre the poor *English*, who were not able to relieve themselves, as Matters at present were handled, wanting able Governors to direct them ; and the very Truth is, the Way which at first was taken to suppress the Rebellion, did only support it ; for Confidence being given to some of the *Irish* Nobility, and many of them furnished with Arms, they furnish their own Kindred, being Native *Irish* ; who were no sooner possessed of Arms, but they became errant Traitors to the *English*. A great Question will here arise, Whether the Murther of the *English* was by Consent or Commission from the King unto the *Irish*? Many have affirmed in Words and in Print publickly, that he should be guilty of such a villanous Act, which I cannot believe, in regard I could never have any assured Relation, what those Commissions were the *Irish* boasted of, they being only the Affirmations of the Catholick *Irish*, purposely to win others unto their Party, and seducing many by saying, they acted by the King's Commissions. Had this been true, it had been more than equal unto his assisting for Destruction of *Rochel* ; but I may hope better Things, both as he was a Protestant, a Christian, and a King.

Yet

Yet methinks there is little Satisfaction given unto this in his late pretended Book. Two main Things are objected against the King; which that Book meddles not with, or answers: First, Why his Majesty was so tender-hearted of the *Irish*, as not to suffer above forty Proclamations to Issue out against those Rebels in *Ireland*, and those also to no purpose, or unopportunely, when too late; besides, to shew his Respect unto them, I know he obliterated with his own Hands the word *Irish* Rebels, and put in *Irish* Subjects, in a Manuscript Discourse, writ by Sir *Edward Walker*, and presented unto him, which I have seen of the *Irish* Rebellion, &c. Secondly, Whereas the Parliament were sending over Cloaths, and other Necessaries, for the *English* Soldiers in *Ireland*, the King seized them as they went, armed and furnished the *English* and *Welsh* against the Parliament: The Reasons of these are omitted by the Penner of his Portraiture.

In November 1641, the Parliament still sitting, the King comes for *London*, is entertained by them in the greatest State might be, and met on the Way by some Hundreds in Gold Chains; and nothing is now cried but *Hosanna, Welcome home; your Majesty is welcome.* The Queen perceiving a Breach was likely to be betwixt the King and Parliament, thought politickly to engage the City

for him; he gives the Citizens good Words, tells them, he will give them their Lands in *Ireland* again, a Promise he was never able to perform, &c. As I remember at their Request, he also kept his *Christmas* at *Whitehall*, intending otherways to have kept it at *Hampton-Court*, and also Knighted some of the Aldermen. At his Return from *Scotland*, he affirmed in a Speech he made unto both Houses, how he had left that Kingdom in as quiet and good Condition as could be expected; *The Devil was in the Craggs of the Scots, if he left them not contented, who gave them whatever they required*, and signed whatever they desired or demanded, confirmed as much as their large Consciences could require.

But now in *January 1641*, began a Sea of Misfortunes to fall upon us, and overwhelm our long-continued Happiness, by Disagreement of the King and the Two Houses of Parliament, and partly by the daily Coming to the Parliament-House of many Hundred Citizens, sometimes in very rude Manner: True it is, the King disliked these too too frequent Addresses unto both Houses in so tumultuous and unwarrantable a Manner; whereupon, fearing the worst (as himself pretended) he had a Court of Guard before *Whitehall* of the Trained-Bands; he had also many dissolute Gentlemen, and some very civil, that kept within *Whitehall*, with their
Swords

Swords by their Sides, to be ready upon any sudden Occasion. Verily, Mens Fears now began to be great, and it was by many perceived, the King began to swell with Anger against the Proceedings of Parliament, and to intend a War against them; some Speeches dropp'd from him to that Purpose. It happened one Day, as some of the ruder Sort of Citizens came by *Whitehall*, one busy Citizen must needs cry, *No Bishops*; some of the Gentlemen issued out of *Whitehall*, either to correct the Sawciness of the Fool in Words, if they would serve, else it seems with Blows; what passed on either Side in Words, none but themselves knew; the Citizen being more Tongue than Soldier, was wounded, and I have heard, dy'd of his Wounds received at that Time: It hath been affirmed by very many, that in or near unto that Place where this Fellow was hurt and wounded, the late KING's Head was cut off, the SCAFFOLD standing just over that Place.

Those People or Citizens who used thus to flock unto *Westminster*, were most of them Men of mean or a middle Quality themselves; no Aldermen, Merchants, or Common-Council Men, but set on by some of better Quality; and yet most of them were either such as had publick Spirits, or lived a more Religious Life than the Vulgar, and

and were usually called *Puritans*, and had suffered under the Tyranny of the Bishops; in the general they were very Honest Men, and well-meaning; some particular Fools, or others, perhaps now and then got in amongst them, greatly to the Disadvantage of the more sober; they were Modest in their Apparel, but not in Language; they had the Hair of their Heads, very few of them, longer than their Ears; whereupon it came to pass, that those who usually with their Cries attended at *Westminster*, were, by a Nick-name, called *Roundheads*. The Courtiers again wearing long Hair and Locks, and always Sworded, at last were called by these Men *Cavaliers*; and so after that this broken Language had been used a while, all that adhered to the Parliament were termed *Roundheads*; all that took part or appeared for His Majesty *Cavaliers*; few of the Vulgar knowing the Sense of the Word *Cavalier*: However, the present Hatred of the Citizens were such unto Gentlemen, especially Courtiers, that few durst come into the City; or if they did, they were sure to receive Affronts, and be abused.

To speak freely and ingenuously, what I then observed of the City Tumults, was this: First, The Sufferings of the Citizens who were any Thing well devoted, had,
during

during all this King's Reign been such, and so great, being harrowed or abused continually, either with the *High Commission-Court*, or the *Star-Chamber*, that as Men in whose Breasts the Spirit of Liberty had some place, they were even glad to vent out their Sighs and Sufferings in this rather tumultuous than civil Manner; being assured, if ever this Parliament had been dissolved, they must have been rack'd, whipp'd, and stripp'd by the Snotty Clergy, and other extravagant Courses: And for any Amendment which they might expect from the King, they too well knew his Temper; that though in a Time of Parliament he often promised to redress any Grievances, yet the best Friend he hath, cannot produce any one Act of Good for his Subjects done by him in the Vacancy of a Parliament. The Loosers usually have leave to speak, and so had the Citizens.

All this *Christmas* 1641, there was nothing but private Whisperings in Court, and secret Councils held by the Queen, and her Party, with whom the King sat in Council very late many Nights; what was the particular Result of those clandestine Consultations, it will presently appear.

January 4, 1641. By what sinister Council led, I know not, but the King in Person went into the then Lower House of Parliament,

ment, where the Commons sat, and for some Things he had been informed of, demanded Five of their Principal Members, viz. *Pimm, Hollis, Hazlerigg, Hambden, and Stroud*. In that Book called his *Portraiture*, he affirms, he went to the House of Commons to demand Justice upon those Five Members; and saith, *He thought he had discover'd some unlawful Correspondencies and Engagements they had made to embroil his Kingdoms*; He confesseth he missed but little of procuring some Writings, &c. to make his Thoughts good. So here is no Evidence against these Members, but his own Thoughts, as himself confesseth. But assuredly had he demanded Justice of the House of Commons against them, and proved his Charge, he might have had it; but for himself to attach their Bodies, and be Judge also (as he intended) was a Matter most unequal: And surely, had it been in his Power to have got their Bodies, he would have served these Members as he did *Elliot*, whom without Cause he committed to the *Tower*, and never would either release him, or shew Cause of his Commitment, till Death.

All that Time he had a Guard with him at the Doors of the House of Parliament, consisting of many Gentlemen with Halberds and Swords: Truly, I did not hear there was any Incivility offered by those
Gentlemen

Gentlemen then attending, unto any Member of the House, His Majesty having given them strict Commands to the contrary. This rash Action of the King's lost him his Crown; for as he was the first of Kings that ever, or so imprudently, brake the Privileges by his Entrance into the House of Commons assembled in Parliament; so by that unparallel'd Demand of his he utterly lost himself, and left scarce any possibility of Reconcilement; He not willing to trust them, nor they him, who had so often failed them. It was my Fortune that very Day to dine in *Whitehall*, and in that Room where the Halberts, newly brought from the *Tower*, were lodged, for Use of such as attended the King to the House of Commons. Sir *Peter Wich*, ere we had fully Dined, came into the Room I was in, and brake open the Chests wherein the Arms were, which frightened us all that were there; however, one of our Company got out of Doors, and presently informed some Members, That the King was preparing to come unto the House, else I believe all those Members, or some of them, had been taken in the House; all that I could do further was presently to be gone. But it happened also the same Day, that some of my Neighbours were at the Court of Guard at *White-Hall*, unto whom I related the King's present

sent Design, and conjured them to defend the Parliament and Members thereof, in whose well or ill doing consisted our Happiness or Misfortune; they promised Assistance if need were, and I believe would have stoutly stood to it for Defence of the Parliament, or Members thereof. The King lost his Reputation exceedingly by this his improvident and unadvised Demands; yet notwithstanding this his failing, so wilful and obstinate he was, in pursuance of that preposterous Course he intended, and so desirous to compass the Bodies of these Five Members, that the next Day he posted and trotted into the City to demand the Members there; he convened a Meeting at *Guild-Hall*, the Common-Council assembled, but *Mum* could he get there, for the Word *London-Derry* was then fresh in every Man's Mouth.

But whereas the Author of the King's *Portraiture* complains, *That the Insolency of the Tumults was such, that His Majesty's Person was in danger in the Streets*: This is a very Untruth, for notwithstanding His Majesty dined in the City that Day he required the Five Members of the Citizens, yet he had no Incivility in the least Measure offered unto His Person, only many cried out as he passed the Streets; *Sir, let us have our just Liberties,*

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Liberties, we desire no more. Unto which he several Times answer'd, They should, &c.

An honest Citizen, as I remember, threw into his Coach a new Sermon, the Text whereof was, as I now remember, *To thy Tents, O Israel.* Indeed the Citizens (unto their everlasting Honour be it spoken) did with much Resolution protect the Five Members; and many Thousands were willing to Sacrifice their Lives for defence of the Parliament, and the several Members thereof.

The Tenth of *January* approached and came, upon which Day the Five demanded Members were brought into the House of Commons with as much Triumph as could be expressed, several Companies of Trained Bands marching to the Parliament to assist if need were; there were upon the *Thames* River I know not how many Barges full of Sailors, having some Guns ready charged, if Occasion were; and these also came in Multitudes to serve the Parliament. A Word dropp'd out of the King's Mouth a little before, which lost him the Love of the Seamen: Some being in Conference with His Majesty, acquainted him, that he was lost in the Affection of the Seamen, for they intended to Petition the House, &c. *I wonder, quoth the King, how I have lost the Af-*
G *fection*

fection of those Water-Rats. A Word sure that slipp'd out of his Mouth unadvisedly ; for all Men must and do know, that the Ships of *England*, and our valiant Sailors, are the very Strength of *England*.

His Majesty finding nothing thrived on His Side, and seeing the abundant Affection of the Commonalty in general for the Parliament, the aforesaid Tenth of *Jan.* 1641, went unto *Hampton-Court*, and never after could by Intreaty, or otherwise, be drawn to come unto his Parliament, tho' they in most humble wise, and by many and several Addresses, exceedingly desired it. One Misfortune follows another ; for the 25th of *February*, 1641, the Queen went into *Holland*, and afterwards the King into *Yorkshire*. There was at this Time a sufficient Magazine of Arms in *Hull*, being the remainder of those employed against the *Scots*. The Parliament sent down a Member of their own, one Sir *John Horbam*, to take care of them ; who undertook, and also did maintain the Town, and preserve the Arms therein for the Parliament ; although His Majesty, in *April*, 1642, came unto the Walls of the Town to require them, yet could he neither procure Arms, or Admittance into the Town.

The

Death of King CHARLES. 63

The Earl of *Warwick*, exceedingly beloved of the Seamen, secured the Navy; so that in few Days the Parliament had store of Arms for Land Soldiers, and plenty of stout Ships for their Sea Occasions. His Majesty in the mean Time being destitute both of the Affections of his People, and Means to supply an Army, which it was perceived he intended shortly to raise, returned from viewing *Hull* unto *York*. The Parliament having perfect Intelligence, and being assured he would raise an Army against them, began to consider of their present Condition; whom to make their General; how to raise Men and Money for their own, and Commonwealth's, Defence. But one would have bless'd himself to see what running and trotting away here was both of Lords and Commons unto His Majesty. I do assure you a very thin House was left; of Lords who remained, *Essex* the People's Darling was Chief; a most noble Soul, and generally well esteemed; he in this Exigency was by both Houses nominated and voted the Parliament's General. I do herein admire at the wonderful Providence of Almighty G O D, who put it into the Peoples Hearts to make this Man General, this very Earl, this good Man, who had suffered beyond Belief, by the partial Judgment of

King *James*; who to satisfy the Letchery of a lustful *Scot*, took away *Essex's* Wife (being a lewd Woman) for one *Carr*, alias *Somerſet*; She pretending *Essex* was *Frigidus in Coitu*, and Old *Femmy* believing it.

Had *Essex* refused to be General, our Cause in all likelihood had sunk in the Beginning, we having never a Nobleman at that Time, either willing or capable of that Honour and Preferment; indeed, scarce any of them were fit to be trusted. So that GOD raised up *Essex* to be a Scourge for his Son, whose Father had so unjustly abused him: And for the Countess, she had abundance of Sorrow ere she dy'd, and felt the Divine Hand of Heaven against her; for she was incapable of Coition at least a Dozen Years ere she Dy'd, having an Impediment in that very Member she had so much delighted in and abused; and this I had from the Mouth of one who saw her when bowelled. For *Somerſet* himself, he dy'd a Poor Man, contemptible and despised of every Man; and yet I never heard any Ill of that *Scotchman*, except in this alone Business concerning the Earl of *Essex*, and his Wife. In this Summer the Citizens listed themselves plentifully for Soldiers; Horse and Arms were provided, and the Lord knows how many treacherous Knaves had

Death of King CHARLES. 65.

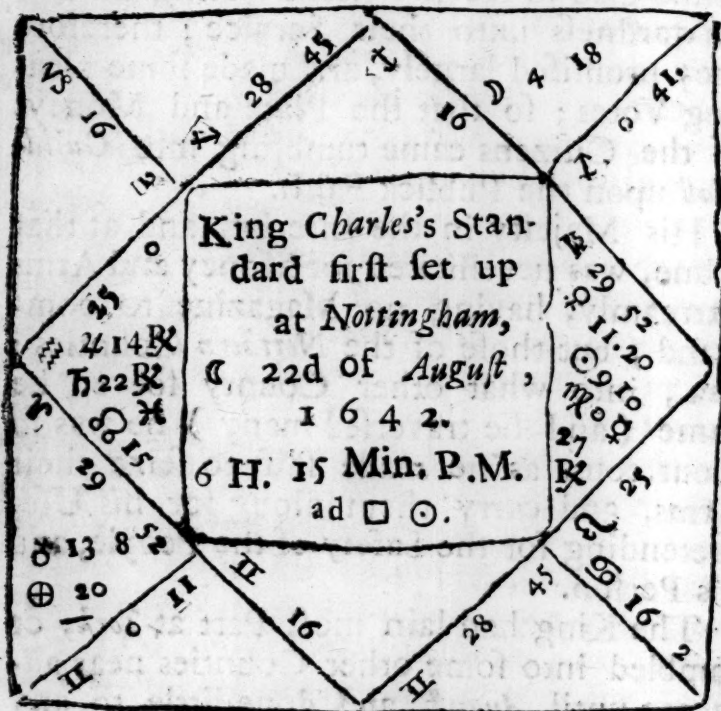
had Command in this first Expedition in the Parliament Army ; so that if GOD himself had not been on our Side, we must of Necessity have perished.

The Youth of the City of *London* made up the major Part of *Essex's* Infantry ; his Horses were good, but the Riders unskilful, for they were taken up as they came and listed, or offered themselves unto the Service ; the Truth is, the Parliament were at that Time glad to see any Mens willingness and forwardness unto their Service ; therefore they promised largely, and made some pleasing Votes ; so that the Plate and Moneys of the Citizens came tumbling into *Guild-Hall* upon the Publick Faith.

His Majesty in the Interim, and at that Time, was necessitated for Money and Arms ; extreamly, having no Magazine to command, but those of the *Northern* Counties ; yea, into what other County soever he came (and he traversed many) he was so Courteous, as he made shift to seize their Arms, and carry them along for his Use, pretending for the Safety of the People, and his Person.

The King had lain most Part at *York*, or rambled into some other Counties near adjacent until *August*, and done little to any Purpose ; for the several Counties were ge-

nerally nothing inclinable to his Purpose; in most whereof, and in every County he came in, he rather received petty Affronts than Support; yet at last he came to *Nottingham*, and there set up his STANDARD (with a full Resolution for War) the 22d of *August*, 1642, under this Constellation, having some few Horse with him; but in great Expectation of more Aid from the *Welch*, &c. whom he thought most doted on Monarchy.



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The Heralds, or at least those who then were with the King, were ignorant how, and in what manner to set up the Standard Royal; they therefore hung it out in one of the Turrets, or upper Rooms of *Nottingham* Castle, within the Castle Wall. King *Richard* the III^d set up his Standard there, &c. His Majesty disliked his Standard was placed within the Castle; he said it was to be placed in an open Place, where all Men that would might freely come unto it, and not in a Prison; they therefore carry'd it, at His Command, without the Castle, towards or into the Park there adjoining, into an open Place and easy of Access. When they came to fix it in the Ground, they perceived it was a meer Rock Stone, so that they with Daggers and Knives made a small Hole for the Standard to be put in; but all would not serve; Men were inforced for the present to Support it with the Strength of their Arms and Bodies; which gave great Occasion unto some Gentlemen there present, to give a very sad Judgment on the King's Side, and to Divine long beforehand, that he would never do any good by Arms. I have also heard, that in Eight or Ten Days he had not Thirty attended the Standard, or list'd themselves.

All

All the remainder of his Life after this *August 22, 1642*, was a meer Labyrinth of Sorrow, a continued and daily Misfortune, unto which it seems Providence had ordained him from the very Entrance of his Reign. His Wars are wrote by several learned Hands, unto whom I refer the Reader : I shall only repeat a few more Things of him, and then conclude. Favourites he had Three; *Buckingham* stabb'd to Death ; *William Laud*, and *Thomas Earl of Strafford*, both beheaded. Bishops and Clergymen, whom he most favoured, and wholly advanced, and occasionally ruined, he lived to see their Bishopricks Sold, the Bishops themselves scorned, and all the whole Clergy of his Party and Opinion quite undone.

The *English* Noblemen he cared not much for, but only to serve his own Turns by them ; yet such as had the Unhappiness to adventure their Lives and Fortunes for him, he lived to see them and their Families ruined , only for his Sake : Pity it is many of them had not served a more fortunate Master, and one more grateful.

The *Scots*, his Countreymen, on whom he bestowed so many Favours, he lived to see them in Arms against himself ; to sell him for more Money than the *Jews* did *Christ*, and themselves to be handsomely rewarded,

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ted, and sold for Knaves and Slaves. They made their best Market of him at all Times, changing their Affection with his Fortune.

The Old Prince of Orange he almost beggar'd, and yet to no Purpose, the Parliament one Time or other getting all Arms and Ammunition which ever came over unto him: It's confidently averred, if the King had become absolute here in *England*, *Orange* had been King, &c.

The City of *London*, which he had so sore oppressed and slighted, he lived to see Thousands of them in Arms against him; and they to thrive, and himself consume unto Nothing. The Parliament, which he so abhorred, and formerly scorned, he lived to know was Superior unto him; and the Scorns and Slights he had used formerly to *Elliot*, and others, he saw now returned upon himself in Folio.

With *Spain* he had no perfect Correspondency, since his being there, less after he suffered their Fleet to perish in his Havens; least of all, after he received an Ambassador from *Portugal*; the *Spaniard* ever upbraiding him with Falshood, and Breach of Promise. Indeed, the Nativities of both Kings were very contrary.

With

With *France* he had no good Amity ; the Protestants there abhorring his Legerdemain and Treachery unto *Rochel* ; the Papists as little loving or trusting him, for some hard Measure offered unto those of their Religion in *England*. He cunningly would labour to please all, but in Effect gave Satisfaction to none.

Denmark could not endure him ; sent him little or no Assistance, if any at all ; besides, the Old King suspected another Matter ; and made a Query in his Drink.

The *Swede* extremely complained of him for not Performance of some secret Contract betwixt them, and uttered high Words against him.

The Protestant PRINCES of *Germany* loathed his very Name, &c.

The *Portugal* King and he had little to do ; yet in one of his own Letters to the Queen ; though he acknowledges the *Portugal's* Courtesy unto him, yet saith, that he would give him an Answer unto a Thing of Concernment that should signify Nothing.

The *Hollanders* being only Courteous for their own Ends, and as far as his Money would extend , furnished him with Arms at such Rates as a *Turk* might have had them elsewhere ; but they neither loved or cared for him in his Prosperity, or pitied him in his Adversity ; which occasion'd these Words

to

to drop from him, If he e're came to his Throne, he would make Hans Butter-box know, he should pay well for his Fishing, and satisfy for Old Knaveries, &c.

In Conclusion, He was generally unfortunate in the World, in the Esteem both of Friends and Enemies; his Friends exclaim on his Breach of Faith; his Enemies would say, He could never be fast enough Bound. He was more lamented as he was a King, than for any Affection any had unto his Person as a Man.

He had several Opportunities offered him for his Restoring: First, By several Treaties, all ending in Smoke, by his own Perverseness. By several Opportunities and Victories which he prosecuted not. First, When Bristol was cowardly surrendred by Fines; had he then come unto London, all had been his own; but loitering to no Purpose at Gloucester, he was presently after well bang'd by Essex.

When in the West, viz. Cornwall, he worsted Essex; had he then immediately hasted to London, his Army had been without doubt Masters of that City; for Manchester was none of his Enemy at that time, though he was General of the Associated Counties.

Or had he, e're the Scots came into England, Commanded Newcastle to have marched Southward for London, he could not have missed

miss'd obtaining the City, and then the Work had been ended.

Or when in 1645, he had taken *Leicester*, if then he had speedily Marched for *London*, I know not who could have resisted him; but his Camp was so over-charg'd with Plunder and *Irish* Whores, there was no Marching.

Amongst many of his Misfortunes, this I relate was not the least; *viz.* When the Parliament last Time were to send him Propositions unto the *Isle of Wight*, he had Advice, &c. that the only Way, and that there was no other Means remaining upon Earth to make himself Happy, and settle a firm Peace betwixt Himself and Parliament, and to bring him out of Thraldom, but by receiving our Commissioners civilly, to Sign whatever Propositions they brought, and above all, to make haste to *London*, and to do all things speedily; he was willing, and he promised fairly to perform thus much. Our Commissioners were no sooner come, but one of them, an old subtil Fox, had every Night private and long Conference with him; to whom, when his Majesty had communicated his Intentions of Signing the Propositions, he utterly disliked the Design, and told him plainly, *He should come unto his Parliament upon easier Terms; for he assured him, the House of Lords were wholly his, and at his Devo-*

tion,

tion. This Old Man knew that well enough, himself being one of them; and in the House of Commons he had such a strong Party, that the Propositions should be mitigated, and made more easy and more fit for him to Sign. Upon this, the Old Lord was to be Treasurer *apud Græcas Calendas*, and a Cowardly Son of his, Secretary of State. This was the last and greatest Misfortune ever befel him, to be thus ruled and fooled by that Backsliding Old Lord, who was never fortunate either to Parliament or Commonwealth. But by this Action and the like, you may perceive how easily he was ever convertible unto the worser Advice; in like Nature, the former Time of Propositions sent unto him, when of himself he was inclinable to give the Parliament Satisfaction unto their Propositions, the *Scots* Commissioners pretending what their cold affectionate Country would do for him; upon this their dissembling, he had so little Wit, as to slight the *English*, and confide in the *Scots*, though he well knew they only had been the sole Means of ruining him and his Posterity by their Juggling, Selling, and Betraying him.

Whilst he was in Prison at *Carisbrook-Castle*, Horses were laid at several Stages, both in *Sussex* and *Kent*, purposely to have conveyed him to the *Kentish* Forces, and to

H

have

Death of King CHARLES. 75
herein you may see the fall of
the best of things



Many have curiously enquir'd who it was that cut off his Head: I have no Permission to speak of such things; only thus much I say,

[Faint handwritten notes, possibly "say,"]

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fay, He that did it, is as Valiant and Resolute
a Man as lives, and one of a competent
Fortune †.

King CHARLES being Dead, and some
foolish Citizens going a Whoring after his
Picture or Image, formerly set up in the *Old
Exchange*; the Parliament made bold to take
it down, and to Engrave in its place these
Words:

*Exit Tyrannus Regum ultimus, Anno
Libertatis Angliæ restituta primo,
Anno Dom. 1648. Jan. 30.*

For my Part I do believe he was not the
Worst, but the most Unfortunate of Kings.

† See Mr. Lilly's History of his Life and Times, Page 90.
where this Secret is discover'd.

Seve-



Several English Prophecies, relating to the Life and Death of Charles Stuart, late King of Britain.

WE usually say *Prophecies* and *Oracles* are best understood, when they are performed; many having complained of the Ambiguity of *Oracles*, and their Ambodextrous Interpretations; as many also finding fault with the Obscureness of *Prophecies*, imagining no mortal Men can give the proper Sense of any *Oracle* or *Prophecy*, except endued from above with the same Divine Spirits as were given unto the first Authors. Were I to meddle with Divine *Prophecies*, I could transcend a Volume in Discourse of this Subject; but I have confined my present Endeavours in the ensuing *Treatise*, only to manifest unto the whole World, and this Nation principally, the certain and unquestionable Events, of very many *English Prophecies*, long since delivered unto us, and still remaining amongst us, which have so

H 3

clearly

clearly and manifestly declared the Actions of these present Times wherein we live, and with that lively Portraiture, that it were the highest of Incredulities to question their Abilities in the Gift of *Prophecy*, or by unnecessary and ambiguous *Queries* to make the World believe there can be any other Interpretation rendred of their Sayings, than such as we have visibly with our Eyes beheld, even in this very Age and Time we now live in. And if any curious Impertinent shall be so nice as to question by what Divine *Fury*, or Heavenly *Rapture* infused into them, either by *Dreams*, *Visions*, or any other Nocturnal Revelation, these Reverend Persons became, so wise, so fore-knowing; I must first intreat such *Criticks* to acquaint me how, and by what means either the *Sybils*, or many others, and especially *Balaam* the Prophet, came so truly to Prophecy either of *Christ*, as the most Learned believe he did, or of the Kingdom of the *Jews*, or of both, in *Numb.* 24. vers. 17. *Then shall come a Star out of Jacob, and a Scepter shall arise out of Israel.* I willingly consent with the several Expositions of the Learned upon those words, yet do think it no Heresy, if I say *Balaam* intended by the Star there mentioned, *Jesus Christ*, and by the *Scepter*, that the People or Nation of the *Jews*, should in future Time become a great and mighty People, and have
Kings

Kings to rule over them as other Nations had at that present; whereas the *Jews* were only govern'd by *Moses* at that time; yet we know *Balaam* was not of the People of the *Jews*; and yet in the 16th Verse of that Chapter he plainly saith, *He heard the Words of God, and knew the Knowledge of the most High*: We must acknowledge that he prophesied very truly; for the Scripture, against whose Evidence there is no Appeal to be made, confirms it: But if *Balaam* loved the Ways of Unrighteousness, and laboured with that continued Infirmary of the *Clergy* and *Priesthood*, viz. *Covetousness*, let us lament and pity human Kind, that so excellent a Man as he in many things, should blemish all his rare Parts, with those filthy, but pleasing Minerals, Gold and Silver.

If God Almighty, in those Times of so great Darkness or Heathenism, did not leave some Kingdoms destitute of Prophetick Spirits, though the true Causes by which they did Prophecy, lie concealed unto Posterity, or are manifested unto very few at present living; shall we now think, that in the purest Times of Christianity, God either hath been, or is less merciful than unto former Ages he was? or that he is not as able or willing to infuse into some Christians the Spirit of Prophecy as into some Heathens of old? How truly did *Homer* deliver that Prophecy of

Aeneas,

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Aneas, many Hundred Years before it came to pass :

*At Domus Aeneae cunctis dominabitur Oris,
Et Nati natorum, & qui nascentur ab illis.*

A Prophecy it was of the Greatness of the *Roman Empire* ; which we all know was fully verified. How true is also that of *Seneca* :

——— *Venient Annis
Secula seris, quibus Oceanus
Vincula rerum laxet, &c.*

Which was a Prophecy of the Discovery of the *West-Indies* and *America*, never known to the Ancients, and to us not above 150 Years since. But I leave mentioning of Heathen Prophets, &c.

What shall we say of that Prophecy of *Henry the VIth*, King of *England*, which he delivered so positively upon *Henry the VIIth*, then a Boy, and holding Water unto him : *This is the Lad or Boy, saith he, that shall enjoy the Crown for which we strive.*

Or of *David Upan* or *Unanthony*, who many Years since prophesied of the pulling down of *Charing-Cross* ; his Propeecy was printed 1558 ; the Words are these :

To

Death of King CHARLES. 81

To tell the truth, many one would wonder,
Charing Crosse shall be broken asunder :
P. Shall preach, R. shall reach, S. shall
stand stiffe.

R. Signifies Round-head. P. Presbytery.
S. The Soldier, &c.

Charing-Cross, we know, was pulled down
1647, in June, July, and August, part of
the Stones converted to Pave before White-
Hall : I have seen Knife-hafts made of
some of the Stones, which-being well Po-
lish'd look'd like Marble.

But I leave further Determination of
these Things unto some other Pen, or Dis-
course, and come unto the present intended
Discourse it self, wherein I shall make it
very clearly to appear, That all, or most
of our Ancient *English*, *Welch*, and *Saxon*
Prophecies, had Relation to *Charles Stuart*,
late King of *England*, unto his Reign, his
Actions, Life and Death; and unto the
now present Times wherein we live, and
unto no other preceding King or Times
whatsoever; which I prove only by this un-
deniable Argument, *viz.* no King or Queen
reigning in this Nation or Kingdom did e-
ver write or style Him, or Her self, King
or Queen of *Britain*, before King *James*,
who

who being naturally King of *Scotland*, and successively of *England* and *Wales*, was the first that ever either really was King of all *Britain*, or that did so entitle himself; nor was ever any King crowned in White Apparel but King *Charles*: Besides there is a Prophecy extant, and Printed long before Queen *Elizabeth* died, viz.

*When HEMPE is sponne,
Englands donne.*

O R,

*When HEMPE is come and also gon,
Scotland and England shall be one.*

Which Words intimate, That both *Henry* the VIIIth, *Edward* the VIth, *Mary*, *Philip*, and *Elizabeth*, Kings and Queens of *England*, must first have reigned, before *Merlin's* Prophecy could take Place; in King *James* both Nations were united, and not before. Let me also add unto this, a very Ancient Prophecy of the *Welch*, viz.

Karonog fab Anē yw̄ wna diwedh ar y
dro gane.

In

Death of King CHARLES. 83

In English thus;

The Sonne of Ann Crowned, ends all our Prophecies.

We never had yet any King whose Mother's Name was *Anne*, but King *Charles* his Mother was *Anne*, Sister to the King of *Denmark*, late deceas'd.

The putting to Death of the late King was Prophesied of above Eighty Years before it was done, by *Nostradamus*; the Book it self was Printed about 1578, as I remember in Century the 9th; these are the Words,

Senat de *Londres* mettront a mort leur Roy, viz.

The Senate or Parliament of London, shall put to death their King.

These Examples shew, That Christians have had the Spirit of Prophecy, and foretold plainly many Ages before what should succeed.

The most significant of all our *English* Prophecies, is that of *Ambrose Merlin*, which I have made Choice of in the first Place, repeating orderly a Verse of the Prophecy, and then how it was fulfilled.

A Pro-

Observation.

8484 Observations on the Life and

84:84. $\frac{8}{50}$ $\frac{2}{10}$ of $\frac{15}{12}$ of $\frac{25}{50}$ of $\frac{10000}{200000}$

A: A; Prophecy of the White King,
wrote by Ambrose Merlin,
Nine Hundred Years since, con-
cerning CHARLES the late
KING.

W H E N the Lyon of Rightfulnesse is dead,
then shall arise a White King in Brit-
taine first flying, and after riding, after ligg-
ing downe, and in this ligg down, he shall be lymed,
and after that he shall be led.

We have seen with our own Eyes, and
Thousands besides, first King James, who
reigned peaceably, and was therefore called
Jacobus Pacificus, is dead, viz. That stying
himself King of Great-Britain, and reigning
Two and Twenty Years, died 1625, the
27th of March. Many affirmed he had the
Picture of a Lyon on his Breast, or Side;
but it's probable he had some Eminent natu-
ral Mole there, which might cause that Er-
ror; because in his Nativity he had both
Saturn and *Mars* in *Leone*. In regard of the
great Tranquillity and Peace we enjoyed in
King James's Time, and the little or no
Blood shed in his Reign; and in Considera-
tion

Death of King CHARLES. 85

tion of the Propagation, and free Admittance of the Gospel all over this Kingdom, he was rightly by the Prophet styled, *The LYON of Righteousness*. But if the Prophet had given him the Name of Lyon in any other Sense, he had notoriously failed, being King *James* was the most pusillanimous Prince of Spirit that ever we read of, and the least addicted unto Martial Discipline. But in Judgment either in Things Divine or Humane (whilst sober or unbiassed) the most acute and piercing of any Prince either before or since. He was admonished of his *Death by a Dream*. He dreamed that his Master *Buchanan* appeared unto him in his Sleep, and gave him these Two Verses: I thought good for the Rarity thereof to repeat them.

*Sexte verere Deum, tibi vitæ terminus instat,
Cum tua candenti flagrat Carbunculus igne.*

The *English* whereof is;

*Thou James the VIth of that Name, King of
Scots, fear God, the Term of thy Life is near or
at hand, when thy Carbuncle-stone burns in the
hot Fire.*

The King told his Bed-chamber Men,
and some other Lords, of these Verses next
I Morning,

Morning, relating them really, and averred he made not the Verses, nor could his Master *Buchanan* ever almost get him to make a *Latin* Verse: The Success was thus, The King had a very large and fair Carbuncle Stone usually set in his Hat; and we have seen him Pictured many times with such a Carbuncle fixed to his Hat: But thus it happened, sitting by the Fire, not long after, this great Carbuncle fell out of his Hat, and into the Fire; a *Scottish* Lord took it up, and observed the King sickned, and also died very shortly after.

After King *James* was dead, *Charles Stuart*, his then only Son, was Proclaimed King of *Great-Britain*, by a general Consent of the People, his Title being unquestionable. The Occasion of the Prophet's calling him White King, was this; The Kings of *England* anciently did wear the Day of their Coronation Purple Cloaths, being a Colour only fit for Kings; both Queen *Elizabeth*, King *James*, and all their Ancestors did wear that Colour the Day of their Coronation, as any may perceive by the Records of the Wardrobes; contrary unto this Custom, and led unto it by the indirect and fatal Advice of *William Laud*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, he was persuaded to Apparell himself the Day of his Coronation in a White Garment; there were some dehorted him

him from wearing the White Apparel, but he obstinately refused their Counsel. *Canterbury* would have it as an Apparel representing the King's Innocency, or I know not what other Superstitious Device of his. And of this there is no question to be made, my self, though not ocularly seeing him that Day, yet have had it related verbally by above Twenty, whose Eyes beheld it; One or Two were Workmen that carried his Majesty's Apparel that Day; so that I challenge all the Men upon Earth living, to deny his wearing White Apparel that Day of his Coronation, &c. It's also reported, and I believe it to be true, that such was his haste to have the Crown upon his Head, that he had not Patience to wait the coming of the Archbishop, whose Office it was to do it, but impatiently in great haste, he placed the Crown upon his Head with his own Hands; which moved the Spanish Ambassador, who was then present, to say, *The King's putting the Crown upon his Head so rashly with his own Hands, was an ill Omen.*

First flying.

King Charles Summons a Parliament, November 1640; the Troubles of Scotland arising in 1641, he left the English Parliament sitting, and went in Person himself to settle

the disturbed Affairs of *Scotland* ; he came Home to *London* about *November*, and was himself and Queen royally entertained by the Citizens, who cryed then *Hosanna*, &c. But see how suddenly many of the same City cry *Crucify, Crucify*. For lo in *January* 1641, the Citizens of *London*, and other rude People, in great Numbers flock down unto the Parliament, and Affront the King, the Bishops, and other temporal Lords ; which Rudeness and Sawciness of theirs, as himself pretended, moved him, the 10th of *January*, 1641, first to fly or remove unto *Hampton-Court*, then to *Windsor*, then into *Kent*, from thence into *Yorkshire* ; so that all the remainder of his Life, until he surrendered his Person to the *Scots*, was running and flying from one Place to another. I must ingenuously acknowledge, my Eyes were Witness of very great Rudeness in the Citizens, and of as great a defect of Civility and Judgment in some Courtiers, unto those ill-bred Citizens.

And after riding.

The first Horse his Majesty raised, were in *Yorkshire*, and these in or about *July*, *August*, and *September*, 1642, pretending they were for a Guard for his Person ; from which Time, until the very Time he rendered

Death of King CHARLES. 82

dred himself to his Countrymen the Scots, which was May, 1646, he had an Army of Horse, and was frequently himself amongst them, though it's not once reported himself ever Charged, as he was sometimes invited unto it by the Lord Charles Gerrard, a most Gallant Man, who would say unto him many Times, CHARGE, SIR, &c. And indeed, who would have lost Three Kingdoms, without first losing some Blood in the Quarrel.

After ligg down.

From the Time of his own voluntary Rendition unto the Scots, until his dying Day, he was never in the Head of an Army, but did *ligg downe* or lye still, and was carried up and down from one Place to another as a Prisoner; yet had he very great Liberty until he discharged himself of his own Word or Parol at *Hampton-Court*, and immediately escaped to the *Isle of Wight*.

In this ligg down he shall bee lymed.

During the Time of his Imprisonment, or from that Time the Scots sold his Person unto us for 200,000 Pounds, it may properly be said (*In this ligg down he shall be lymed*) that is, He was attempted and assu-

red first by one Side, then another ; or he was several Times, and by several Occasions, tempted or treated withal, (every one thinking themselves surest who possess'd his Person) sometimes by the *Scots*, other times by the *English*, as well Parliament as Army ; but notwithstanding all Overtures, his Person was still safe looked unto, &c.

After that he shall be led.

After that Propositions had been presented unto him at *Hampton-Court*, and last of all at the *Isle of Wight*, he refusing to Sign them, or give such Satisfaction as was required ; from that Time, *viz.* from *December, 1648*, until his Death, he was led, *viz.* he was more strictly guarded and imprisoned than ever ; nor from that Time had the Benefit of his Liberty as formerly he had had, but was removed first to one *Castle*, then to another ; then to *Windsor*, then last of all to *White-Hall*. So that most properly He may be said to be now led. For I dare swear he went and came into all these Places most unwillingly.

And there shall be shewed whether there be another King.

Since King *Charles* did retreat from his Parliament,

Death of King CHARLES. 91

Parliament, they on the behalf of the *Commonwealth* acted as Kings, using Regal Command, raising Armies, Moneys, Taxes, & *quid non*, breaking his Majesty's Great Seal, making a new one of their own, and since have altered the Frame of Government, and converted *Monarchy* into a *Commonwealth*.

Then shall bee gadered together much folk, and He shall take helpe for him.

How many of the Nobility, Gentry, and Clergy, and what Numbers of the Commonalty assisted him, we know, and they who were his Assistants do well to their Cost remember; for indeed, the greatest Part of the Nobility, and Gentry, and Priesthood, most cordially and unanimously followed him, and assisted him to the hazard of their Lives, and consumption of Estates: And we know, even whilst he was in *Carisbrook-Castle*, what a Rebellion was raised by *Goring*, and Others, &c. in *Kent* and *Essex* 1648, besides that great Army of Scots and English routed in *Lancashire*.

And there shall be Merchandise of Men, as of an Horse or an Ox.

This Part of the Prophecy was exactly verified in King Charles, or the *White King's* Time;

Time; for in 1648, after the Defeat of the Wretched Scots in Lancashire, the English Merchants did give Money for as many of the Common Soldiers as were worth any thing, and sent them for Barbadoes and other Foreign Plantations; Some were sold dear, others cheap, according to the Quality of the Person or Profession he was of: It is reported, that many of those miserable Wretches, since their being at the Barbadoes, do say, they have left Hell, viz. Scotland, and are arrived into Heaven. There was in 1644, 1645, &c. exchanging of Soldiers and Prisoners; but in 1648, absolute Merchandising of Men's Bodies, and not before; what Price the Scots were sold for, I know not; he that gave but Twelve-pence a-piece for any of that nasty People, gave too much.

There shall bee sought helpe, and there shall none arise, but Bed for Head.

What Prince or State of Europe, was not attempted since 1642, unto 1648, to assist his late Majesty, but in vain? Providence being not to be deluded by any mortal Man; each Man that assisted, had only a Bed for his Head, viz. a Grave or piece of Earth for his Burial: And how many Royal English Families, both of Gentry and Nobles, I pity to relate, who have miscarried for his sake.

And

*And then shall one gone there the Sun ariseth,
another there the Sun gone downe.*

Intimating no more, but that the Fear and Sadness of those Times should be such, as should cause several Persons to leave this Kingdom or Nation, for their Safety, as many Nobles and Gentry, who took part with him did, some going to *Holland*, others to *France*, others to several Countries, as their Fancies or Occasions led them; or it may import his Majesty should go Eastward or North-East, as he did when he went first to the *Scots*, and the Queen before went Westward or South-West, *viz.* to *France*; I pity exceedingly the sad Condition of many Noble Families, which still to this day continue in Foreign Parts, poor, beggarly, and in a most uncomfortable Condition.

After this, it shall be said by Britain, (King is King,) King is no King: after this hee shall raise his Head, and he shall be taken to be a King.

After he went to the *Scots*, and whilst he was in durance, he was treated with both by *England* and *Scotland*, as a King: Yet afterwards it appeared he had not the Power of a King, to conclude any thing; nay, afterward our Parliament made a Vote,

That

That no Addresses should be made unto him any more.

But that Vote was Repealed, and Addresses were made, but to no purpose. So that the Prophet said well, (Sometimes King is King) after King is no King, &c.

Bee many things to done, but wise men reading, &c. and then shall a rang of Gleeds, and ever each hath bereaving, he shall have it for his owne.

I conceive this intimates no more than the Multiplicity of Affairs in these Times; but whether by the Range of Gleeds, he intend either the Parliament themselves, or the Army, or the Parliament's Sub-officers, I know not. I conceive here are some Words wanting in the Copy, which might lead to explain these Words, viz.

And hee shall have it for his owne.

Unless it be intended, those meant by the Range of Gleeds, viz. great Oppressors, or those who then Rule or Command, shall have all for their own; the Latin Copy hath no more, but

Post

Post hæc erit tempus milvorum, & quod quisque rapuerit, pro suo habebit.

Viz. After these things, it shall be a time of Kites or Gleeds, and what every Man can get or purloin, he will take it for his own. And this seems to be the genuine Sense of it; for how many very poor Men have we known to arrive unto great Estates, since these Times, even to Thousands a Year and more? Some, I know my self, were Men of very mean Fortunes in the beginning of this Parliament, that are now so elevated, so proud, so rich, so arrogant, having had a Hand in some Publick Employments, they scorn their Kindred and Country, forget their Birth and that Neighbourhood which brought them to this height of Honour; and although like poor Sneaks they came to *London* in Leather-breeches, and in 1642 were but vulgar Fellows, yet now Coach it with four or two Horses, are impudent, because in Authority; yet to require some of these, to write true *English*, or speak Sense, were to command a F--t from a Dead Man; but such as these must know, if they have good Estates as that they have, we of the Commonalty must have an Account of our Treasure.

And

And this shall last seven Yeares, loe Ravening and shedding of bloud.

If we consider that our Wars began in Anno 1642, we shall then find that our Distempers and Wars have continued Seven whole Years, within our own Kingdom; for one Copy hath it,

Et septennio durabit guerra intra.

The War shall endure Seven Years within the Bowels of the Kingdoms; and whereas he mentions *Ravening*, I conceive where the Soldier is quartered, that Action of *Ravening* cannot be avoided. *England* hath felt free Quarter, both of her own Countrymen, and of the *Scots* and *Scotish* Army, who were the truest Harpies that ever lived, stealing and purloining where ever they came, even unto a Dish-clout. You shall have one Example of two *Scots* in *Lancashire* 1648, Quartered there in a poor House, where they got a Kettle of Brass, being all their poor Landlord had, and having it on the Fire with Oatmeal boiling in Ale or Milk, an Alarum comes, and one of their own Countrymen passes by and invites these two Soldiers to run away, for all was lost; but see their Villany, and present Reward of these two Fools,

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Fools, away they trudge, but carry the Kettle and Porridge on a Staff betwixt them, their Landlord in vain crying out for his Kettle; but it pleased God an honest Trooper of ours making haste to pursue the Knaves, slew both these Gluttons, and so returned the Kettle to the right Owner.

And Ovens shall be made like Kirkes or Churches.

If it were not publickly done in many Places of this Kingdom before 1646, viz. That Churches were many times as beastly as Ovens; yet in 1648, and 1649, Paul's Church was made a Horse-guard, and so continued until of late.

After, then shall come through the South with the Sun, on Horse of Tree, the Chicken of the Eagle sayling into Brittain, and arriving anone to the House of the Eagle, hee shall shew fellowship to them Beasts.

Here the Copies vary exceedingly, one saying only,

Deinde Pullus Aquilæ veniet super ligneos equos Anno & senio & erit guerra in Britannia.

Viz. After the Chicken of the Eagle shall come upon wooden Horses within a Year
K and

98 *Observations on the Life and*
and a half, and there shall be War in Britain.

Another Copy hath it thus :

Deinde ab Austro veniet cum Sole super ligneos Equos ; & unio spumantem inundationem maris, Pullus Aquilæ navigans in Britanniam, & applicans statim tunc altam domum Aquilæ sitiens & cito aliam siet, viz.

Afterwards the Chicken of the Eagle shall come with the Sun upon wooden Horses, &c.

Verily in a former Treatise of ours, we were not much estranged from Verity ; yet our Modesty was such, and our Respect to his Majesty's Person, we were in many things silent : But upon further consideration, this Chicken of the Eagle will prove one of his Majesty's Children ; and we remember, that the present Scots King did about July 1648, upon the South or South-East Coast of England, come in Person unto the revolted Ships ; he Landed, or was Victualled at Yarmouth, and then Sailed towards Kent, but without Success ; he also after that attempted Yarmouth, but that Attempt proved successless ; but whereas, the Prophecy mentions, *He should shew (fellowship unto them Beasts.)* These Words are in no Latin Copy that I have seen ; however, at that Time of the Prince his being at Sea, here was no Treaty or Overture either offered by him unto the Parliament,

ment, or by them unto him, only the rest of the Ships, which revolted not, were several Ways dealt with to deliver them up unto him.

If the Eagle be intended King *Charles* lately dead, as doubtless he was, the Chicken of the Eagle must of consequence then be one of his Children, and the present King of *Scotland*; and then the Words may have this sense; That the Prince at that time should be desirous of getting some Footing, or Landing-place in *Kent* (called here the High House of the Eagle) in regard *Dover*-Castle standeth in *Kent* on a Rock: but failing there, he made his Journey to *Yarmouth*, and so was desirous to procure that Town, but herein he also was deceived. It is evident that the late King was the Eagle; for he did nothing but fly or ride up and down, during some Years, before his Restraint; and it must of necessity then follow, that the Chicken here mentioned is the *Scots* King; for the Chicken is mentioned before the Death of the King to come from the *East*; and so the Prince did upon wooden Horses, viz. Ships; it's true, the Prince got a Castle or two in *Kent*, but to no purpose.

After a Year and a halfe shall be War in Britain.

This shews a Continuance of the Wars,

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either

either Abroad or at Home for some certain Time, or several Years. And we know in 1646, that most excellent Man the Lord *Fairfax* had even ended our Wars; but lo in 1648, several Revolts and Rebellions appeared against the Parliament; besides the *Scotish* Treacherous Invasion; all which manifest a continuance as it were of the Wars; nor are we yet quit of Wars, or shall be for some time hereafter.

Then shall a sooth be nought worth, and every Man shall keepe his thing, and gotten other mens Goods.

It is in Latin, *Tunc nihil valebit Mercurius.*

These Words say only thus much, That after that time, when the Chicken of the Eagle, or Prince of *Wales*, at that time should either personally land himself, or set on shore some Forces of his in any Part of *England*, which was in *July* 1648, or *August*; that then, and from that time, there would be no Faith given to Words, or any Peace come from Treaties; and we well know with what difficulty the last Treaty with his Majesty was obtained. The Parliament had just Cause to fear no Good would come from thence; the *White King*, who ever loved to fish in troubled Waters, gave such ambiguous Answers unto the Parliaments Propositions,

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tions, as signified Nothing. Whereupon, considering the great Engagement which lay upon them, they at last resolved,

Immedicabile vulnus ense recidendum. And so it was.

For Verification of the latter Part :

Sed quisque curabit quomodo, &c.

That every Man, who under the Parliament hath pill'd, poled, or cheated the People ; or any Parliament Man, who hath by the Ruin of the Commonwealth enrich'd himself, will be careful to preserve his ill gotten Goods, I do as verily believe, as I do that there is a GOD in Heaven.

After the White King feeble shall goe towards the West, beclipped about with his folke to the old place been running water.

It is in the *Latin* ;

Ibit Rex debilis versus occidentem.

At what Time His Majesty went from Hampton-Court, he went feeble, viz. accompanied with no more than two or three (a

K 3.

feeble.

feeble Company for a King), and he then went to the *Isle of Wight*, and there surrendered himself to one *Hammond*, Governour of *Carisbrough-Castle* in the *Isle of Wight*. That Castle stands near or upon the Water. From this Time of his surrendering himself unto *Hammond*, he was beclipped or straitly look'd unto by the Soldiers; this is that *Hammond*, as the King himself acknowledg'd at *Windsor*, unto *Ad. A.* who furnished him with that smutty Sheet *Elencticus*; which accused me of Connivance with one *How* of *Gloucestershire*, about *Arabella Scroop*, one of the natural Daughters of the Earl of *Sunderland*. I Challenge the whole World, and both *How* and his Wife, and *Hammond*, to declare publickly, if I had the least Engagement, or did give the least Advertisment of any Meeting of theirs in the *Spring-Garden*, or had any Connivance or Plot in their Design; all that ever I did, was a Resolution of two or three Horary Questions, which promised the Enjoyment of the Woman: Not having met with a fit Opportunity of the Press, since that Slander cast upon me, I took Liberty herein to repeat this Matter; giving that Cavalier my most hearty Thanks, that in Publick took the Pains to vindicate my Reputation; and although

I never

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I never had the Happiness, since that his Vindication of me, to see him; yet let my Acknowledgment of that his Courtesy be accepted from him. Indeed, that Oracle of the Law, whilst he lived, Sir Robert Holborne, Kt. and my singular Friend, both acquainted me of the Man, and his great Labour to sift out the Matter wholly, ere committed to the Press. The Lord guide me in my Ways, for I seriously protest unto Posterity, I never received such injurious Aspersions or Calumnies, from those who in Reason had Cause to be my Enemies, viz. the Royalists, as from many of our own Party, or such as will or would be called Roundheads. Had not the Virtue and Honour of one not to be Parallel'd Member of Parliament, been ever my Support and Defender, I had buried my Conceptions in Silence, and smother'd my Endeavours in deep Obscurity. For really, so great is my Respect and Affection unto this Honourable Person; that were my Fortune necessitous (as GOD be thanked it is not) I durst not, nay, I would not do any dishonest or unbecoming Action, fearing it might trench upon the Honour of that All, and nothing but All Gentleman, who lives only, and desires to live no longer, than he may serve this Commonwealth, without

without doing Injustice to any particular Person, or Oppression, or any Thing that is Dishonorable to the Commonwealth, Parliament, or Army. O, I abhor the Incivility and Absurdity of one now in some Authority for the Parliament, who hearing a scandalous Aspersion against me, without further Enquiry, protested he would be mine Enemy, if I e'er came before him, &c.

Then his enemies shall meet him, and March in her place shall be ordained about him, an Hoast in the manner of a shield, shall be formed, then shall they fighten an Oven front.

When His Majesty was brought from the *Isle of Wight to Windsor*, he was guarded before and behind, and on every side, with several Troops of Horse, so that it was impossible He should escape, so that it might well be said, *He was in the midst of an Oven, &c.*

After the White King shall fall into a Kirk-yard, over a Hall.

We may justly wonder, how exactly this was fulfilled in the Death of King *Charles*, or the *White King*: The Truth of it was thus,
That

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That some few Nights before his Death, he was brought to *White-Hall*, the Regal Seat of his Progenitors; against the Day of his Death a Scaffold was framed over against the new Banqueting-House, built by King *James*, and when the King went unto Execution, a Way or Passage was made out at one of the *West-Windows* for him, to pass out unto the Scaffold, where his Head was cut off. So that very pertinently it was Prophefied, *He should fall into a Church-yard over a Hall.*



The Rev^d Joseph Hunter has observed that in addition ^{to the} "white" circumstances, may be mentioned a fact **What** ^{that} when the body of Charles was conveyed to Windsor there fell a shower of snow which made the coffin **white**. ^{!+ This should be "when conveyed from St. George's Hall to the Chapel."} ^{vide S. H. Hallford's narrative.}

could better have represented the Person and Condition of this Old Man, his present State and Condition, and the Manner of his Death, than this present Figure of Heaven doth.

Being a Man of the Church, his Ascendant is *Capricornus*, the Cusp of the Ninth House; *Saturn* is Lord of the Sign, now in *Aries* his Fall; a long Time Retrograde, and now Posited in the Twelfth of the Figure, or Fourth from his Ascendant; so that the Heavens represent him in Condition of Mind, of a violent Spirit, turbulent and envious, a Man involved in Troubles, imprisoned, &c. *Jupiter*, a general Significator of Churchmen, doth somewhat also represent his Condition, being of that Eminency he was of in our Commonwealth; *Jupiter*, as you see, is Retrograde, and with many fixed Stars of the Nature of *Mars* and *Luna*; an Argument he was deep laden with Misfortunes, and vulgar Clamours, at this present.

The *Moon* is Lady of the Fourth in the Figure, but of the Eighth as to his Ascendant; she separates from *Saturn*, and applies to the Opposition of the *Sun*, near the Cusp of the Eighth-House; *Sol* in a fiery Sign; applying to an Opposition of *Mars*, the Dispositor of the aged Bishop; *Mars* being in an Airy Sign and Humane, from hence I judged that